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EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES
IN SOUTH CHINA

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EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH CHINA

*A Study of Overseas Migration and Its Influence
on Standards of Living and Social Change*

By

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English Version Edited by

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SECRETARIAT, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

THE BUILDER of a home in China likes to have it face south and north. But the house seldom has a window to either side. Often there are no windows other than those that open on an inner court. Family life, in wealth or in poverty, has for its scene an enclosure that permits no view of village or city street, for the gate also is usually kept closed. This scene, with its intimacy of intercourse and feeling, has produced a sensitivity that has never been surpassed, but also a social conservatism not easily pierced by the happenings of the world without.

China's modernization may quite literally be connected with the breaking of new windows into the walled universe of the family. For, in the South especially, this is its visible token. Of old, every outside contact was considered pregnant with peril; if apertures were needed other than the main gate, the builder placed them in the side walls where they might escape the notice of evil spirits. Today, the homes of modern Chinese can be identified by the fact that they have openings in the main wall. And if, as is usually the case, that wall faces south, the symbolic significance of these doors and windows is even greater, for it is from the south that the refreshing breeze of modernism blows.

It was not an arbitrary choice which determined the International Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations to select the influence of the great southward migration movement from South China on the mode of living in that region as one of the first subjects in its programme of inquiries into the nature and consequences of cultural change in the Pacific. The Committee hoped that a detailed inquiry into the part played by Chinese emigration to the near-by countries of the South in changing the standards of living in the home communities, apart from its immediate purpose, would also provide clues for the appraisal of the cultural effects of other large migration movements in the Pacific area.

Professor Chen's findings, despite their limitation of scope, do give a number of clues to the larger questions which interest the student of migration, of culture diffusion, or of the inter-action of

political, economic, and other social factors in international relations. The author modestly abstains from building many theories on the facts he has collected; but he provides social theorists with new, significant data. And not theorists alone. A British official with long, practical experience of Chinese problems both in China and overseas, who has read this work in manuscript, says of it:

"So far as the material secured by the field investigations is concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that it is of the utmost value, most comprehensive, and providing a large number of facts that cannot be found elsewhere. It gives data that will provide an answer to many questions that the economist and the sociologist are likely to ask."

The present writer was associated with the author for some weeks in the early stages of this inquiry in 1934 and 1935. He has been asked to give the report that final editing which is sometimes needed to make an Oriental contribution in social science entirely accessible to Occidental minds. The Chinese author in the present case has enviable mastery of the English language; nevertheless certain passages of the text required further elucidation, or changes in phraseology to make clear their intended meaning. Moreover, the order of the report had to be changed because it made too great a demand on Western students who are accustomed to a different sequence of statement in the presentation of a given body of social information. Such editing is best done in direct collaboration between author and foreign-speaking editor; but since this was not practicable in the present instance, the latter can only hope that through his manipulations he has not misconstrued or given unintended emphasis to statements of fact or opinion.

Although he was able here and there to make an illustrative interpolation from his own travel notes in China and the Southern Seas, the editor has taken pains not to introduce his own opinions. In this connection it may be said that the categories of the "three-fold environment" chosen by Professor Chen for the discussion of the observed phenomena would probably be defined differently by a Western scholar trained in one of the dominant schools of anthropology. Nevertheless, even in this matter the author makes a valuable contribution by emphasizing in his own way the reality of that unseen part of the human environment which, because it is less easy to define and to describe than others, some of our Western sociologists tend to neglect or to rule out altogether.

The present study was not expected to exhaust the subject of the relations between China and her sons abroad. Apart from the political and economic aspects of that subject which are becoming of ever greater importance with the passage of time, even the more intimate social by-products of that overseas migration require a series of specialized studies in the countries of settlement because of the marked differences of the emigrants' experiences under different types of foreign rule. Nevertheless, it was impossible entirely to omit reference to these experiences if differences in their influences on their home communities were to be explained. For this reason, both the author and the present writer spent several months in the countries of the South to obtain first-hand information and personal impressions to supplement the available literature.

In 1937 the China Council of the Institute was on the point of initiating, with assistance from the International Research Committee, a series of separate local studies of the more important Chinese overseas communities when the present war disrupted many of the Council's research plans. Fortunately, as a result of the decisions taken by the International Research Committee in January, 1939, new arrangements have now been made permitting the China Council and other interested Councils of the Institute to start a series of inquiries on the present economic and political significance of Chinese overseas groups, especially in Siam, British Malaya and the Netherlands Indies.

The editor's own observations on some of the major conclusions to be drawn from the present study—written while it was still under way and field reports had not yet been completed—are given in a short paper on "Changing Standards of Living in South China as Affected by Overseas Migration", printed as a supplement to I.P.R. NOTES of April, 1935. It should be noted that, though the present report is issued under the auspices of the China Institute of Pacific Relations, neither the Council nor the Institute as a whole accepts responsibility for statements of fact or opinion contained in it. For these the author alone is responsible.

BRUNO LASKER

San Francisco
March 1st, 1939

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITOR'S FOREWORD	V
INTRODUCTION	I
CHAPTER I. ENVIRONMENT AND RACE	16
GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES	17
<i>Mountains</i>	17
<i>Rivers</i>	18
<i>Climate</i>	18
<i>Minerals</i>	19
RACIAL ORIGINS	21
Migration Movements	21
Anthropological Measurements and Observations	24
DENSITY OF POPULATION	25
CHAPTER II. CULTURE TRAITS	28
OCCUPATIONS IN TYPICAL COMMUNITIES	28
Chuan Chou—Fifty-five Years Ago	29
Hai Chin—Sixty Years Ago	30
Amoy—A Hundred Years Ago	30
Chao Chou—Forty-five Years Ago	31
PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS	31
Agriculture	32
<i>Rice farming and its effect on population</i>	32
<i>Other forms of agriculture</i>	33
Handicrafts	34
<i>Chin Hai cloth</i>	34
<i>Grass cloth</i>	35
<i>Drawn work</i>	36
<i>Pottery</i>	37
<i>Joss paper</i>	37
<i>Fishing and navigation</i>	38
THE PSYCHIC ENVIRONMENT	39
Religious Belief	39
Religious Practices	41

CHAPTER III. SOCIAL CHANGE	42
CAUSES AND TENDENCIES	42
Tendencies of Social Change	45
<i>Material progress</i>	45
<i>The development of social thinking</i>	47
EMIGRATION AS A SYMPTOM OF SOCIAL CHANGE	49
The older policy	49
The newer policy	51
CHAPTER IV. LIVELIHOOD	58
TYPES OF COMMUNITY	58
<i>The non-emigrant community</i>	59
<i>The emigrant community</i>	59
<i>The overseas Chinese community</i>	60
PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD IN THE NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITY	65
Principal Occupations	65
<i>Rice cultivation</i>	65
<i>Timber</i>	66
<i>Incense sticks</i>	67
<i>Subsidiary occupations</i>	67
PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD IN THE EMIGRANT COMMUNITY	68
Principal Occupations	68
<i>Agriculture</i>	68
<i>Trade</i>	69
<i>Subsidiary occupations</i>	72
Remittances	73
<i>Methods of remitting money</i>	78
<i>Character of the senders</i>	81
<i>Reliance on remittances from overseas in the emigrant communities</i>	82
<i>Principal uses of the remittances</i>	84
CHAPTER V. FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER	86
FAMILY INCOME	87
Sources and Amounts of Income	87
Surplus or Deficit	88
FAMILY EXPENDITURE: FOOD	89
Food Consumption in the Emigrant Community	89
<i>Food consumption in a few selected emigrant households</i>	91
Food Consumption in the Chinese emigrant communities overseas	93
Food Consumption in the Non-Emigrant Community	94
<i>Changes in food habits</i>	96

CLOTHING	99
Clothing in the Emigrant Community	99
<i>Clothing in a few selected emigrant households</i>	100
<i>Clothing and fashion</i>	101
Clothing of Chinese overseas	103
Clothing of Non-Emigrant Families	105
SHELTER	106
Houses in the Emigrant Community	106
<i>Typical homes of some emigrant families</i>	107
<i>House and social prestige: old folkways</i>	109
<i>Home and security</i>	112
<i>Internal and external decorations and furnishings</i>	113
Houses in the Non-Emigrant Community	114
CHAPTER VI. THE FAMILY	118
Family Structure	118
The Chief Functions of the Family	123
<i>Perpetuation of the family tree</i>	123
<i>Economic interdependence</i>	124
Authority in the Family	127
<i>The household</i>	127
<i>The clan</i>	129
The Position of Women	129
The Position of Children	130
The Division of Property	132
Marriage Arrangements	134
The Emigrant's Position in the Family	136
<i>Marriage experience abroad</i>	138
<i>The dual family system</i>	140
The Emigrant's Influence on Family and Marriage	143
CHAPTER VII. EDUCATION	149
AIMS OLD AND NEW	150
Aims of Traditional Education	150
Aims of the New Education	157
The Principal Causes of Change in Educational Aims	158
SCHOOLS IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES	161
In Emigrant Community X	161
<i>Adult Education</i>	162
<i>School and Society</i>	162
In Emigrant Community Y	163
In Emigrant Community Z	164
<i>Typical instances of the connection of emigrants with local schools</i>	165

EMIGRANT AND NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES	166
Curriculum	166
Teachers' Qualifications and Teaching Methods	167
School Site, Finance and Equipment	168
Number of Pupils	168
ADULT LEARNING	168
Dramatic Entertainment	169
Home Culture	170
CHAPTER VIII. HEALTH AND HABITS	173
Common Diseases	175
Epidemics and Other Infectious Diseases	176
<i>Cholera</i>	176
<i>Bubonic plague</i>	177
<i>Malaria</i>	178
<i>Smallpox</i>	179
<i>Tetany</i>	179
Treatment and Prevention	180
<i>Reliance on prayer and metaphysics</i>	180
Provision for Medical Care	182
Sanitation	185
Habits	187
<i>Opium</i>	187
<i>Gambling</i>	188
<i>Prostitution</i>	190
<i>Physical culture</i>	192
CHAPTER IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND ENTERPRISE	195
PUBLIC SAFETY	197
In Emigrant Community X	197
In Emigrant Community Y	198
In Emigrant Community Z	199
CIVIC ENTERPRISE	201
THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMOY	202
Construction	204
Public Utilities	206
<i>Water</i>	206
<i>Electric light</i>	207
<i>Telephone</i>	207
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SWATOW	208
Public Utilities	208
<i>Water supply</i>	208
<i>Electricity</i>	209

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	209
COMMUNICATIONS	211
Social Benefits	212
Investments of Overseas Chinese	214
<i>Railways</i>	214
<i>Steam navigation</i>	216
<i>Road transportation</i>	217
CHAPTER X. RELIGION	227
Belief and Practice	228
Special Rites and Festivals	232
Observances Related to Public Safety	233
<i>Ta Pai Kung</i>	233
<i>Kan T'ien Ta Ti</i>	236
Observances Related to Various Occupations	236
<i>Agriculture</i>	237
<i>Handicrafts</i>	237
<i>Commerce</i>	237
<i>Fishing and navigation</i>	238
Observances Related to Desire for Offspring	241
<i>Kuan Yin</i>	241
<i>The winter solstice</i>	242
Observances Related to Particular Occasions	246
Observances Related to Hero Worship	248
<i>An Chi Sheng Wang</i>	248
<i>Cheng Shun Kung</i>	248
<i>Wang Yeh</i>	249
Conflicts of Old Beliefs and New	251
<i>Revolt</i>	251
<i>Scepticism</i>	252
<i>Assimilation</i>	253
<i>Conversion</i>	254
Conclusion	256
APPENDIX A. SOME FACTS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF EMIGRATION FROM KWANGTUNG AND FUKIEN TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE NAN YANG	259
Causes of Emigration as Told by Emigrants	259
Mode of Travel	261
Distribution	263
<i>Siam</i>	264
<i>Philippine Islands</i>	265
<i>Netherlands India</i>	266
<i>British Malaya</i>	268
<i>Indo-China</i>	270

APPENDIX B. EDUCATION IN THE CHINESE COMMUNITIES	
OF THE NAN YANG	272
The Rise of Chinese Schools	272
<i>Adaptation to a new social environment</i> .. .	272
<i>Nationalism and language</i>	273
Persistent Problems	275
Resulting Attitudes Toward Education	278
Effects on Education in South China	280
<i>Education in Amoy</i>	280
<i>Education in Swatow</i>	282
APPENDIX C. WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND CURRENCIES	283
INDEX	285

LIST OF TABLES

	PAGE
1. Stature of inhabitants of Kwangtung and Fukien ..	24
2. Body Weight of inhabitants of Kwangtung and Fukien ..	24
3. Primary Schools in Amoy and Swatow, 1912-1934 ..	47
4. Occupations of Emigrants before emigration and after their return from abroad, 1934-35 ..	70
5. Sources of Income of 100 Emigrant Families (October, 1934, to September, 1935) ..	83
6. Occupations of Home-Remitting Emigrants (October, 1934, to September, 1935) ..	88
7. Monthly Surplus or Deficit of Emigrant and Non-Emigrant Households ..	89
8. Principal Foods Consumed by 100 Emigrant Families ..	90
9. Cost of Living for Selected Households in Emigrant and Non- Emigrant Communities ..	95
10. Cost of Living for Selected Households in Emigrant and Non- Emigrant Communities, Including an Allowance for House Rent ..	115
11. Estimated Value of Houses in Emigrant and Non-Emigrant Communities ..	117
12. Composition of Upper-class Household under "Dual Family System" ..	119
13. Composition of Middle-class Household under "Dual Family System" ..	120
14. Composition of Lower-class Household under "Dual Family System" ..	122
15. Estimated Marriage Expenses of Middle and Lower-Class Emigrant Households in East Kwangtung and South Fukien ..	136
16. Age at Time of Emigration ..	137
17. First and Later Marriages of Chinese in the Nan Yang ..	141
18. Miscellaneous Expenditures of 100 Families of Each Class in the Emigrant Community (October, 1934, to September, 1935) and the Non-Emigrant Community (March, 1935, to February, 1936) ..	155
19. Diseases Common in Emigrant Communities ..	175
20. Medical Facilities in Emigrant Communities ..	184
21. Capital Investment and Mileage of Public Bus Lines in South Fukien before 1930 ..	219
22. Losses Occasioned to Public Bus Lines in South Fukien by the Communist Uprising, 1932 ..	220

	PAGE
23. Losses from Destruction of Property (Bus stations, Roads, Bridges, etc.)	221
24. Losses Occasioned to Public Bus Lines in South Fukien by Army Occupation in 1933	222
25. Losses Occasioned to Public Bus Lines in South Fukien by Military Operations to Suppress Banditry in 1934	223
26. Principal Causes of Emigration	260
27. Geographical Distribution of Chinese in the Nan Yang	263
28. Home Communities of the Chinese Residents in British Malaya, 1921 and 1931	269
29. Geographical Distribution of Major Chinese Groups in British Malaya, 1931	269

INTRODUCTION

I

THROUGHOUT Chinese history there has been an outward movement of population from the southern and southeastern sea coast. At times, this may have been little more than the natural consequence of a continuous trade of the coastal population with nearby countries, exchanging the products of an old civilization with highly developed crafts for those of less developed regions, especially materials, such as timber, tropical fruit, rare fibres, foods, spices, and medicines, desired for qualities not offered by home resources. At other times, under the impact of internal pressures, this movement took the form of a migration "wave": not only the more adventurous young people in the coastal towns and villages of Chekiang, Fukien, and Kwangtung now sought their fortunes overseas, but the normal rate of exodus was reinforced by larger numbers coming from further inland or, at any rate, mobilized in the coastal counties themselves by the impact of heavier demands on their means of subsistence.

This larger exodus was stimulated by the expansion of imperial control throughout the South in both Ming and Manchu times and, in the nineteenth century, decay of the imperial system of government and the ever increasing severity of "natural" calamities which often owed their origin to the corruption and the weakness of an administration no longer able to protect and organize the essential safeguards of the rural population. This propulsive factor was aided by the attractive force of labour opportunities, as the splendid qualities of the Chinese peasant as a labourer—his industry, perseverance, and docility—became more widely known and sought by employers in many parts of the world. Although in most instances these large-scale labour opportunities have been closed after a relatively short period, they lasted long enough to draw millions of Chinese workers from their homeland, many of them to

settle permanently and to form distinct Chinese communities in the countries that sought them. Thus, in spite of the adoption of restrictive immigration laws in Europe, the Americas, Oceania, and most of the countries of Asia itself Chinese population has spread to over fifty distinct regions of the world. The combined numbers of those who have emigrated from China and their descendants is often estimated as about eight million but may well have reached ten million at the present time. There are twenty-two regions with a Chinese population of ten thousand or more.¹

This large number of Chinese abroad has created many intricate problems in the relations between China and the countries where the emigrants have settled. For the most part, these problems derive from economic situations: the fact that the expansion of colonial enterprise to rich virgin lands, requiring large numbers of willing workers for the exploitation of their resources, has reached a state of marginal productivity; the fact, further, that, with improved colonial administration, indigenous populations have increased and have more fully been drawn into the service of large-scale enterprise; partly also increased mechanization of processes with a consequent lessening of the demand for labour; and partly overproduction of commodities in relation to the effective demand, the world over.

Other problems derive from the fact that Chinese emigrants lose neither their citizenship nor their personal loyalty to the traditions and institutions of their homeland. Under the operation of the *jus sanguinis*, the Republican Government of China, no less than its imperial predecessors, claims in theory jurisdiction over all persons of Chinese blood, no matter for how many generations their ancestors have lived abroad. And this legal claim attains the force of reality because everywhere residents of Chinese blood are conscious of the superiority of Chinese civilization over others and are so conditioned by early influences as to make it practically impossible to think of themselves other than as Chinese and culturally distinct from those other ethnic groups among whom they may be living.

Thus, to a surprisingly large extent—compared with other large minorities similarly placed—overseas Chinese maintain connections

¹ Ta Chen, *Population Problems* (in Chinese). Commercial Press, Shanghai, second edition, 1935, p. 355.

with their homeland and periodically give practical expression to their sense of belonging by remitting money to their families in the villages from which they or their forbears have come. While a potent influence on the lives of individuals, this economic bond also reacts upon the relations of China as a whole with other countries; it affects not only its trade relations with the particular countries where large numbers of Chinese reside, but the country's international balance of payments as a whole, and thus the national economy as such in one of its most important aspects.

This, however, is only one side of the problem as it presents itself to the Chinese Government, and perhaps not the most significant. There is the question whether—taking all relevant facts into consideration—it is a good thing for China to have so many of her sons engaged in the exploitation of the resources of other lands, enriching the capital values and taxable wealth of other nations rather than their own. Increasingly the question is discussed among thoughtful Chinese: what principles their country should adopt and what methods it should use to reap more fully the benefit of Chinese effort and enterprise abroad. How may permission to emigrate be made a source of benefit, not only to the individual Chinese and their families—and to their foreign employers—but to their home country as well?

From the standpoint of demography, moreover, it is important to know whether emigration has alleviated the pressure of the home population on the natural resources at its disposal; and whether such alleviation, where it has been experienced, has made for permanent improvement or merely for a temporary lull in an unabated struggle for survival. Has emigration, apart from its effect on the size of the population in the areas where it originates, affected its composition in ways that are either beneficial, or the reverse? And finally we come to the concern which is more especially the subject of the present study: the varying degrees in which overseas Chinese have been instrumental in introducing new ideas, new habits, and new social energies in their home country, and the degrees, furthermore, in which their contributions to the life of their home communities have been constructively beneficial or socially disruptive. In these respects, many unsupported assumptions prevail, as well as a fairly large area of more or less complete ignorance.

Questions like these have in recent years challenged the attention of Chinese scholars; and they are being asked with increasing insistence as interest in social science itself is growing. They induced the China Institute of Pacific Relations to support a suggestion made some years ago that the International Research Committee of the Institute include as a major item in its programme of research a study of migration as a factor, not only in international relations generally, but specifically in changing standards and planes of living and, hence, their effect on costs of production and on international competition. In 1933, at the Institute's conference in Banff, Canada, a programme of inquiry in this subject field was drawn up, and the co-operation of the member countries was invited to carry it out.² Subsequently, the writer was requested to undertake the present study of the influence of overseas Chinese in the countries to the South on the mode of living in their home communities in South China.

II

Since, as has been intimated above, Chinese emigration has a long history and covers a wide field, it was obviously impracticable to cover every aspect of the subject in a thorough fashion. The available resources were, therefore, concentrated on a sample study with limited scope. That scope may be indicated by these main conditions: the area of migration is within the Pacific and within those regions where migration movements are still going on and where the number of migrants is large enough to assume international importance; in such regions, a considerable number of the migrants still maintain a bond with the mother country, either through correspondence or through occasional visits to their home villages, or both.

Guided by these considerations, we have selected for this study an emigrant region³ in South China which includes portions of East

² B. Lasker and W. L. Holland (editors), *Problems of the Pacific*, 1933. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934, pp. 476-78.

³ The terms "emigrant community" and "non-emigrant community" are used throughout this book as abbreviations for types that cannot easily be defined both briefly and accurately. An emigrant community, as the term is here used, means a community from which considerable numbers of persons have for some time emigrated, and continue to emigrate, abroad; a non-emigrant community is one from which such emigration is rare. Similarly, for the sake of brevity, the term "emigrant family" is used to designate a family from which one member or several members have gone overseas—whether such members have

Kwangtung and South Fukien. This region is on the sea coast of the two maritime provinces and consists of ten *hsien* (counties). Roughly speaking, it includes a long strip of territory commencing at Chao An (formerly Chao Chou), passing through Swatow, on the Kwangtung border, and through Amoy, and terminating at Chuan Chou in Southern Fukien. It is an area of a little less than five thousand square miles, with a total population of a little over 4,600,000. Swatow is the second largest sea port of Kwangtung, Amoy the principal port of Fukien; both of them have for some time been among the most prosperous commercial centres of China. In spite of great differences in their recent history, the two provinces closely resemble each other in topography, language, and ethnography—and especially in those aspects of their social life that affect a study of this kind. When we consider various circumstances and problems arising from overseas migration, we find that essentially the area chosen for our inquiry is homogeneous in major respects.

Though all the ten *hsien* have sent emigrants to the Nan Yang,⁴ this area does not constitute the sole source of emigration to the south, even in these two provinces. For example, Mei Hsien and vicinity, the principal home of the Hakka and the largest source of Hakka emigration, is not included in this area.⁵

The data gathered from the available documents and through field surveys in the ten *hsien* above referred to are unequal both in quantity and quality. Our travels did not cover all of them but were limited to certain towns and villages of special importance for our subject. Our field work was concentrated in three emigrant communities in three *hsien*. These communities were chosen chiefly because of (1) a long and continuous history of emigration, or (2) a rather large number of their sons now living in the Nan Yang, or (3) a rather noticeable influence of the emigrants on the home community. As a consequence, it cannot be claimed that the more detailed local findings of our study are in every case representative for the region as a whole. We shall note important variations. returned or not—and a "non-emigrant family", as the term is used in this book, is one that has no such personal contacts abroad.

⁴ The term Nan Yang (South Seas) does not in China mean what we mean by its verbal translation, but more literally the region immediately to the south of China which includes the Philippines, Netherlands India, British Malaya and Borneo, Siam, French Indo-China, Burma (and sometimes Ceylon and India which, however, are of no consequence for the present study).

⁵ The writer has, however, visited Yao P'ing, an important stopping place in the southward migration of Hakka coming from places other than Mei Hsien.

Emigrant communities X and Y lie in South Fukien, Z lies in East Kwangtung. X lies northeast of Amoy. It is composed of three villages, all near the sea board. A tug boat from X to Amoy ordinarily takes one-and-a-half hours. X has a population of about 2,500, a considerable number of whom have long been going to the Nan Yang to make their living. Noteworthy social changes that have taken place in X can largely be traced to the efforts and sacrifices of a single rich emigrant. More usually, the collective influence of many emigrants creates changes in their home village; but here that of a single individual overshadows all others. It is for this reason that community X repays special study.

Emigrant community Y is situated on the sea coast, to the northeast of Amoy, and may be reached from that city by a tug boat travelling for two-and-a-half hours. It is today dominated by a single clan. During the last hundred years or more, many of its members have emigrated to the Nan Yang, and an almost equal number have come home on visits or to stay permanently. Thus, there has been a constant current of migration back and forth. Some of the clansmen abroad have always kept in touch with the folks at home; and it is these more especially who have made their influence felt. Another matter of interest here is the strong position which familism still occupies. This is by no means common in the coastal regions of China, especially where foreign contacts already have produced a good deal of social change.

About sixty *li* (twenty miles) northeast of Swatow lies our emigrant community Z which consists of seven villages and one small town. Although some families here are wealthy, and although some of the "large families" here have retained a larger hold than is now common over the small family units that compose them, there is no domination by any one of them. The local population bears all the marks of social heterogeneity: ethnic relationships are gradually giving way to demotic organization, and a modern society is in process of emerging.

Although a survey of the historical migration movements in and from this region does not fall within the scope of the present study,⁶ at least passing reference is necessary to the last large movement of

⁶ See, however, Ta Chen, *Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labor Conditions*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1923, Chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Also P. Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration in the British Empire*, King, London, 1923 and MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad*, Shanghai, 1924.

this kind which started in the last days of sea-going junk trade and the first days of steam navigation. At that time many of those left Kwangtung and Fukien for the Nan Yang who later became permanent settlers and whose progeny now makes up a large part of the Chinese colonies in that region. The significance of that movement—which may prove to have been the last one for some time to assume a large volume—determined the choice for our study of two historic emigration sources, emigrant community Y in South Fukien, and emigrant community Z in East Kwangtung.⁷ From these two places, the flow of migration has been more or less continuous to the present time.

III

In each of the communities chosen for this study the writer placed a group of investigators who were to live there, and the collection of data began in September, 1934, to last until April, 1935. Different parts of the survey were not, however, either started or finished at exactly the same time; and a special inquiry into family budgets was set up independently. The survey was conducted with the following methods:

(1) The main body of information was gathered by means of a schedule with 12 main subject headings, 64 sub-headings, and numerous specific questions under these. When they had been properly introduced to the village elders and other leaders, and had become acquainted in the community, the investigators called on those families which were known either to have members living abroad or members at home who had been living abroad. Of such families, 182 were thus systematically investigated in emigrant community X, 224 in Y, and 942 in Z. In each of these communities, from four to seven investigators lived for periods varying from four to ten weeks, so that the immediate work of investigation was done without undue haste and much other information could be gathered on the side.

(2) The survey also included certain special problems for which separate schedules were prepared, varying in length with the nature

⁷ Z lies near An Pu, the earliest place of origin for Chinese emigration to British Malaya since 1823. See Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore*, John Murray, London, 1923, p. 19.

and complexity of the problem. A schedule on schools and students was distributed to almost the whole school population in both the emigrant and the non-emigrant communities surveyed, numbering about 40,000. Its main purpose was to ascertain the effect of emigration on school attendance and to provide a basis for evaluating the influence of the emigrants on education. Special schedules also covered problems in land utilization, the construction and use of highways, and other matters.

(3) All the investigators were instructed to jot down anything of possible interest to the inquiry not provided for in the questionnaire, whether noted in the course of an interview or found through reading or outside observation. In this way, some miscellaneous data of direct or indirect relation to the main topics of the inquiry were collected. Another useful source of information was the correspondence between emigrants and their families at home. The biographies of eminent emigrants—some of them from these or nearby communities—were read; and a good deal of miscellaneous information was found on the operation of "letter offices" (see below, p. 79 *et seq.*), geomancy, the occurrence of natural calamities, public administration, and other matters.

(4) The writer kept up an extensive correspondence with local men to amplify information obtained in other ways and to verify observations.

In addition to all these data from local sources, use is also made in this report of public and semi-official documents, of a large variety of books, pamphlets, articles and news clippings.

Reference has already been made above to "non-emigrant communities" within the region covered by the present inquiry. In order to make certain that changes in social life would not be attributed to the influence of emigration if they could be explained in other ways, it was deemed necessary to include in our study a rather searching parallel inquiry as to social change in at least one representative non-emigrant community. Such a place was found about 60 *li* (about 20 miles) northwest of emigrant community Z. Here, in two villages adjacent to each other, we found a community from which few people had gone abroad in recent times. At the same time, there were no striking geographical, ethnic, or other differences between this community and nearby Z. In fact, the only marked difference was the curious absence of an emigration move-

ment from this community in contrast with that from Z, and it was part of our aim to discover the cause of it.

In the non-emigrant community a survey was made of 572 families. The schedule here used was similar to that used in the emigrant communities, with two major modifications. In the first place, obviously, questions relating to the experience of emigration itself and its effects on the family were omitted. Added were questions seeking to explain the lack of enthusiasm for emigration in this community, and possible clues to this in detailed information about the principal and subsidiary occupations and about living habits in as far as these might differ from those prevailing in Z.

In the present report, the findings in the non-emigrant community are drawn upon wherever a contrast between conditions or opinions and attitudes there with those in the emigrant communities helps to throw into sharper relief the effective causes of emigration or the results of emigration in terms of living standards and cultural change. A more systematic use of the data has been made in a comparison of costs of living as between an emigrant and non-emigrant community and an analysis of the respective items of expenditure that account for differences in total cost. For this purpose, we constructed two sample family budgets made up from those of one hundred family budgets respectively in the emigrant community Z and the neighbouring non-emigrant community. The basis for selection was similarity in the economic standing and social status of the families included. According to local standards, both groups of families could thus be brought into comparable categories representative for the class division usually adopted in Chinese social studies: poor, lower, middle, and upper.

The cost-of-living schedule was drawn up on the model of the recommendations made by the Second International Conference on Labour Statistics (Geneva, 1925), and competent local men were chosen to collect the required data: in the case of the emigrant families, a primary-school teacher who had lived in Z for twenty years; and in that of the non-emigrant community a person of similar standing. The teacher, assisted by two local college graduates, visited each of the hundred families once every ten days over a period of one year. On each visit, the information secured was immediately put on record. The only difference between the two studies was that in Z it covered the twelve months October, 1934,

to September, 1935, while in the other place it was unfortunately delayed, and covered the twelve months beginning March, 1935. It is not believed, however, that this time element has affected the result of the comparison in any appreciable way.

The comparative method has been applied extensively also to other parts of this study. Every subject was, in the first instance, investigated in the emigrant communities; but wherever possible appropriate comparative data have been sought in the non-emigrant community. On some topics comparison is unnecessary, on others it is difficult; in the present report it is introduced only where it is clear and significant.

Comparison also had of necessity to extend from the communities under observation to the Chinese communities abroad with which they are in contact. For reasons already stated this type of comparative study has not been pushed very far, because to make it thorough would have required a much more extensive inquiry than permitted by the limits of the present study. Nevertheless, some comparative data were secured, both from the literature on the Chinese overseas and from personal observation and inquiry. The writer spent more than three months at the beginning of 1935 in travelling through parts of the Nan Yang, covering Netherlands India, British Malaya, Siam and French Indo-China. His itinerary was guided, in the main, by consideration of the concentration overseas of emigrants from the communities X, Y and Z. A letter from a local resident to a friend or relative overseas often opened a channel for frank discussion, or for friendly co-operation in unlocking doors to the understanding of a number of important issues. The aim, however, was less that of securing data for a comparison of living conditions at home and abroad as it was to study those factors in the overseas Chinese community which contribute to the particular kind of influence which it exerts on the mode of living in the home communities of its members in South China.⁸

IV

In the main, then, this study has avoided tempting bypaths, and limited itself to ascertain the influence of overseas Chinese from the

⁸ In a few places, the writer has drawn also on the notes, and more especially the literary excerpts, collected by Mr. Bruno Lasker who independently visited some of the major Chinese settlements in Netherlands India, and in the environs of Saigon, Singapore, and Manila.

Nan Yang on their home communities. The nature of this influence must of necessity be complicated, its causes lie deep in the social structure, and many aspects of both nature and cause must to some extent remain obscure. The life of the communities in question must have been affected in many intimate ways, escaping the grasp of even the well-trained observer. Our attempt to analyse this influence may, therefore, fall short of its aim, however successful in bringing out the more tangible aspects.

The emigrant communities in East Kwangtung and South Fukien have a mode of living—if here we may briefly anticipate the findings given in subsequent Chapters—readily distinguishable from that of other rural areas in China. Among the forces motivating social change the influence of the overseas Chinese from the Nan Yang is, of course, only one, but it is striking and unmistakable. How this influence is related to others could only be ascertained by asking questions to which the present inquiry does not afford conclusive answers. Why has there been over a long historical period the continuous flow of overseas migration from the coastal villages of Fukien and Kwangtung, and not to anything like the same extent from other coastal regions of China? What special mode of living has been evolved in these villages by this continuing experience? When and how has it become noticeably modified? What part has emigration to the Nan Yang played in the creation and subsequent change of what now appears as the characteristic mode of living in these parts? In what specific ways is its influence manifest today?

The mode of living represents men's collective endeavour to adapt themselves to the environment. The environment, in the writer's understanding, embodies three aspects. The natural phase may sometimes compel or induce certain individuals to emigrate; thus, it is relatively easy to distinguish the effect on population movements of barren soil, of natural calamities or of accessibility to the sea. The socio-economic aspect includes safety for life and property, the choice and shift of occupations, education, health, and use of leisure time which may either sustain and enrich life or impoverish and destroy it. In other words, where men have made a successful adaptation to the natural and socio-economic phases of their environment, they are said to have maintained adequate relations between man and soil, and between man and man. For such adaptation

men must make good use of their intelligence. As for the proper outlet of their emotions, it is necessary to have regard to the third phase of the environment, the psychic or imaginary phase, as embodied most of all in their religious beliefs. Consequently, this study envisages a threefold environment: natural, socio-economic, and psychic. The degree to which adaptation to all three aspects is adequate reveals the value of human life in its totality; and this adaptation is reflected in the mode of living.

With this view of the mode of living some will, perhaps, not agree. There are materialists who contend that the cost of living is indicative, by itself, of the mode of living. This concept is too narrow and, therefore, does not explain those differences in modes of living which characterize whole peoples as well as groups within a given community. We are of the opinion that the cost of living is merely a part of the mode of living (see Chapter V).

Others are willing to take a broader view of life, though they name no clear-cut criteria for their analysis. Thus, for the moment limiting ourselves to the American literature on this subject, we find a state of confusion among students of the social sciences who have turned their attention to this question. Further limiting ourselves to views that are akin to our own, we summarize, as points of departure, two representative standpoints, the one economic, the other sociological.

According to J. A. Field, late Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, the concept of the "standard of living" should be separated into a "generalized formulation of observed living-conditions" and an "ideal or aspiration". The latter he envisages as the dynamic element of the "standard" whereby the individual, after meeting his material needs, expands himself through paying proper attention to "health, race perpetuation, co-operation, good citizenship, community relations," etc.⁹ Some years ago, an equally broad view was expressed by Edward T. Devine, at that time Professor of Social Economy at Columbia University, in his discourse on the Normal Life in which he conceives of that individual as having a normal mode of life who, in passing through his life cycle, has adequately satisfied a number of needs . . .

⁹ J. A. Field, *Essays on Population*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, pp. 387 and 391.

physiological, social, educational, religious, etc.¹⁰ Similar to these views, but not identical with them, is our suggestion that the totality of human life may be seen in the threefold adaptation to the environment, and that such adaptation may properly be called the mode of living—as amplified in the pages that follow.

With this approach, the principal emphasis of the present study is placed on the analysis of societal factors and societal forces which shape, maintain, and modify the mode of living. It does not attempt to classify or measure this mode, though in Chapter V a partial classification and measurement of living expenses is attempted. But even the data there given are not offered as comparable with more or less similar material collected in other parts of China, much less in foreign countries. Differences in social uses, currencies, real as distinct from money wages, and habits of consumption preclude the possibility of any such comparison if it is to be scientifically valid.¹¹

V

After the writer had drawn up a tentative plan for the present investigation, copies of it were sent to scholars in China and abroad who, it was thought, might be able to make valuable criticisms and suggestions. It is impracticable here to mention all the answers received, both oral and written, that have in one way or another been useful to the present study. Special mention, however, should be made of communications that have come from Professor Robert E. Park, of the University of Chicago, Professor Romanzo Adams, of the University of Hawaii, Professor Clarence Glick, of the University of Cincinnati; and, in China, from Dr. L. K. Tao, Director of the Institute of the Social Sciences, Academia Sinica, Nanking; Professor S. Y. Chen, of the Department of History, National Peking University, Peiping; Professor S. C. Chen of the Institute of Economics, Nankai University, Tientsin; Professor W. T. Wu, of the Department of Sociology, Yenching University,

¹⁰ E. T. Devine, *The Normal Life*, Macmillan Co., New York, second edition, 1924, pp. 1-8, 193-4.

¹¹ For attempts at international comparisons of costs of living, see International Labour Office, Studies and Reports, series N., No. 20: *International Comparisons of Costs of Living*, Geneva, 1934. For discussion of the difficulties involved, see also, *Problems of the Pacific*, 1933, Chapter IV; and the introduction by Lasker to *Living on a Moderate Income*, by Emily H. Huntington and Mary G. Luck, University of California Press, 1937, pp. 2-8.

Peiping; Professor C. C. Wu, of the Department of Sociology, National Tsinghua University, Peiping; and Mr. S. M. Liu, a specialist on the Chinese of the Nan Yang, Shanghai.

In connection with the field investigation, many institutions and individuals have shown courtesies and rendered assistance, especially the following: National Sun Yat-sen University, Canton; Lingnan University, Canton; Chao An Middle School, Chao Chou; Chiu Chin Primary School, Chang Lin (near Swatow); Amoy University, Amoy; Chee Bee School, Chee Bee (near Amoy); An Ch'i Middle School, An Ch'i, South Fukien; Hsin Kiang Primary School, Hsin An, South Fukien.

To facilitate the work of the survey, a number of people have generously given technical and other help in various connections. Professor Y. L. Wu of Lingnan University, Canton, acted as Associate Director of the Survey; Professor S. L. Fu of the National Sun Yat-sen University, Canton, and Professor S. G. Su of Amoy University, Amoy, served as advisors. Relating to the arrangement for the survey in East Kwangtung, much assistance was received from Mr. S. W. Huang, Principal of the Seaside Normal School in Swatow. The three sections of the field work were in the charge of Mr. K. P. Chan, Mr. Kenneth Chun, and Mr. I. H. Ni. The sample study of the family budgets of the emigrant and non-emigrant families was carried on under the care of Mr. F. C. Kuo and Mr. M. Lu.

During the writer's travels in the Nan Yang, kindness and assistance were shown him by numerous institutions and individuals, both foreign and Chinese, especially the following: members of foreign Governments, members of Chinese Consulates in important cities, Chinese Chambers of Commerce, Chinese schools, and a host of friends, foreign and Chinese, who were in one way or another interested in the study.

In the organization of the data, valuable help was given by Mr. Kenneth Chun and Mr. I. H. Ni. During the academic year 1935-36, when the writer was on furlough in Europe, the task of reading, extracting and organizing certain field material was entrusted to Mr. I. H. Ni. For the same period, the tabulation and compilation of the data on the family budgets was undertaken and completed by Mr. L. K. Tao and his associates, especially Mr. L. Ho. Certain revisions were later made by Mr. C. H. Shih, of the

Department of Sociology, Tsinghua University. The analysis of certain foods in connection with the family budget inquiry was carried out by Professor C. Liu, Amoy University.

The China Institute of Pacific Relations has shown innumerable courtesies from the beginning to the end of this study, especially through Mr. Liu Yu-wan, its Executive Secretary. The Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations has, through its Research Secretary, Mr. W. L. Holland, given encouragement and support to this investigation in many ways. Mr. Bruno Lasker, member of the American Council staff, has given valuable criticisms and suggestions at different stages of the procedure. He has travelled through certain emigrant communities in Fukien and Kwangtung and also parts of the Nan Yang, as already stated. He has been generous enough to permit the incorporation in this book of portions of his notes which he took during the trips above mentioned, and has edited the English draft of this report.

Lastly, Tsinghua University granted the writer one year's leave of absence (1934-35) which made it possible for him to plan and conduct this investigation. The organization of the material for publication was chiefly done at Tsinghua where he received library facilities and other conveniences. After finishing the Chinese report on May 1st, 1937, he proceeded to draft the English report until the work was interrupted by the Japanese bombardment of Peiping and vicinity commencing on July 27th, 1937. The draft was subsequently completed in the city of Peiping.

To the above institutions and individuals, and to other co-operators whose names do not appear, the writer expresses his profound appreciation and gratitude for their interest, co-operation and assistance. For whatever shortcomings this study may have, the writer alone is responsible.

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT AND RACE

A LONG STRIP of the sea coast of East Kwangtung and South Fukien is the historical home of several million Chinese in the Nan Yang. It is true many of the groups represented overseas have originally come from farther inland but usually they have left the shores of China in considerable numbers only after an extended stay in or near the ten *hsien* here under survey. Certain geographical and physical features of this region have served in the past, and still serve, as driving forces to push some of the inhabitants out of their homes to seek their livelihood abroad. Partly under the direct influence of this physical environment, and partly because of the way of life which it determined through the centuries, the people of this region possess certain cultural traits which predispose them for foreign adventure. Physical features, particularly the natural waterways which facilitated a relatively strong internal migration in the past, no doubt have contributed toward a mobility which operated on an expanding scale as circumstances and skill in navigation allowed and which in modern times extended to almost every part of the globe. In the long run, the experience of emigration itself, and the channels which it creates for a continuous contact with the nearer countries and islands, must be considered one of the most potent influences on the continuation of that outward movement of population. Vocations and uses which at one time were helpful in making possible foreign travel and careers abroad in their turn are affected by the population tide and, in the course of time, come to be adapted to a social life in which the habit of migration is as strongly entrenched as is any other habit making for success and security.

The inter-relation between the physical and the socio-economic aspects of the environment offers no special difficulties to the investigator of a particular sequence of social causes, but rather an alluring

vista, as it were, of a social nexus where each observed phenomenon can be assigned its place. Successful adaptation to these phases involves most of the basic activities by which men sustain life and achieve the survival of their kind. But in addition there is the psychic or imaginary environment, successful adaptation to which, though less overt, is equally indispensable if that survival is to carry with it more than the bare flesh. Without that adaptation it cannot be said that any society, however successful it may be in gaining subsistence from the soil, is measuring up to the real tasks of human life.

This view of a threefold environment—more fully explained in the Introduction—may serve as the necessary background for that human drama which is the subject of this study, the visual scene without which the action cannot be understood.

GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES

Mountains. From time immemorial, the coastal plains of East Kwangtung and South Fukien have offered a setting much less influenced by happenings in the rest of China than their geographical situation might suggest, for they are separated from the hinterland by an almost continuous mountain range which traverses the provinces in a generally eastern and northeastern direction. This range obstructs land communication between the two maritime provinces and the Yangtze Valley in the north.¹²

Historically, overland travel from Central China to Kwangtung came across this range. But the mountain passes were difficult, and land communication between the Yangtze provinces and South China never, therefore, assumed large proportions. Only the even

¹² The mountain range, generally known as the Nan Ling Range, comes from Kweichow and spreads out through the four provinces of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Hunan and Kiangsi. There are five famous peaks: (1) Yueh Chin is between Chuan Chou and Kuei Lin in Kwangsi; (2) Ming Chu is between Ho Hsien in Kwangsi and Kiang Hua in Hunan; (3) Tu P'ang is between Lai Shan in Hunan and Lien Chou in Kwangtung; (4) Ch'i Tien is between Ping Chou in Hunan and P'ing Shi in Kwangtung. The highest peak, called the Ta Yu Ling, is about 3,000 feet high and lies between Nan An in Kiangsi and Nan Hsiung in Kwangtung.

From the Ta Yu Ling (or Mei Ling) different branches spread out: the one taking the eastward and northward direction on the boundary between Kiangsi and Fukien is known as the Shie Hsia Ling, the one on the Fukien-Chekiang border is known as the Wu Yi Shan, that in Fukien is known as Liang Shan, and that in Chekiang is known as Tien Tai Shan and Shih Ming Shan. Where the latter enters the sea, it gives rise to the Chiu Shan Archipelago. Another branch of the Ta Yu Ling goes southward and enters Kwangtung. Its famous mountain is called the Lo Fu Shan.

greater risks of travel by sea before the days of modern navigation explain why as recently as 1792 Lord Macartney, the British envoy, when travelling from Canton to Peking, pursued the difficult route of crossing the Ta Yu Ling on the Kwangtung-Hunan frontier.

Rivers. Since the Hunan-Kwangtung-Fukien border is mountainous, there are few navigable rivers serving more than a small sector of the region. We thus have in this part of China the development of complicated river deltas admirably serving the water needs of the immediate local areas but unconnected with possibilities of an extensive navigation into the far interior.¹³

Climate. A moderate climate prevails in eastern Kwangtung and southern Fukien. The coast is at most times favoured with sea breezes and therefore not extremely hot even in summer. On the other hand, the nearby hills and mountains protect the region from the severe northwestern blasts which are so uncomfortable in other parts of China, and prevent the winter temperature from reaching extremes harmful to a partly subtropical vegetation.¹⁴

The region is known for its excessive humidity which helps to

¹³In Chao Chou and Swatow, the most famous river is the Han, which has two tributaries: (1) the Mei River has its source in the Ta Yu Ling, and traverses the five districts of the historic Chia Yin Chou, the original home of the Hakka; (2) the T'in River rises from the K'u Cho Shan in Chang T'ing, Fukien, and passes Shan Hang and Ta P'u where it combines with the Mei River. Thereafter it is known as the Han River. Junks sail on the tributaries, and steam tug boats of small size ply on the Han River. Passing Chao Chou, the Han River enters a plain which becomes a delta. This delta comprises an area of 600 square miles and includes Chao Chou, Chi Yang, and Chin Hai. The Han River empties into the sea near Swatow.

At Amoy the largest river is the Lung Kiang which has two tributaries: (1) the Peh Ch'i originates from the Ta Fu Shan in Ning Yang, and flows in a southward direction to pass Chang Ping and Hua An; (2) the Wan An Ch'i falls from the Chang Shan in Lung Yen and takes a southeastward course. After passing Nan Ching, it reaches Lung Ch'i where it empties into the Peh Ch'i, and is then called the Lung Kiang. The Lung Kiang flows in a southeastern direction and soon forms a delta which covers Hai Chin in the south, and Shih Ming in the east. Within this delta the most prosperous city is Amoy. The Lung Kiang enters the sea at the Amoy harbour.

At Chuan Chou in South Fukien the largest river is the Ching-Kiang, which also has two tributaries: (1) the Shuang Ch'i has its source in the Hun Ku Shan, and flows southward to pass An Ch'i; (2) the Lo Ch'i rises from the Ta Feng Shan and takes a south-eastward direction to pass Yung Chun. When it reaches Nan An it combines with the Shuang Ch'i and is called the Ching Kiang. After passing Ching Kiang district, the Ching Kiang soon forms a delta and enters the Eastern Sea at Chuan Chou Bay.

¹⁴With the possible exception of the deltas, the summer temperature for the day and night is about 35 degrees Centigrade or 85 degrees Fahrenheit. In winter the temperature seldom drops to the freezing point. North of Chuan Chou, in South Fukien, it is about 7 degrees Centigrade or 45 degrees Fahrenheit in January. South of Swatow, it is about 13 degrees Centigrade or 55 degrees Fahrenheit for the same month. In the mountains or near the sea a lower temperature is often experienced.

make it extraordinarily rich for the growth of vegetables, bamboo and other canes, trees and, of course, the major crops. But it is unhealthy as a living place for man without the protective devices which only the application of modern science affords. In the mountains the temperature is lower, but since the mountains are not very high, their relative freedom from humidity, as compared with that of the coastal plains, is not great. Rainfall is always plentiful, especially along the seaboard.¹⁵ Excessive rains during the summer, particularly toward the end of the season, are generally brought by typhoons.¹⁶ On August 2nd, 1922, a terrific typhoon was experienced in the Swatow region, an event of serious consequences to which we shall have to refer later. The depth of the water in the city reached twenty feet in some places; many people were injured, and many houses destroyed. Some of the inhabitants thus deprived of their homes subsequently sought their livelihood in the Nan Yang. A foreign scientist has described this disastrous "tidal wave" as follows:

"Near Amoy, a steamer of four thousand tons disappeared, leaving hardly a trace behind. Another steamer was lifted bodily on to an island at the entrance of Amoy harbour. All along the coast, the sea carried a ghastly freight of dead bodies, for many of the people spend their lives in boats along the coast. It was estimated that no less than twenty thousand persons were drowned."¹⁷

Minerals. Iron deposits occur in South Fukien, chiefly. The process of washing out the metal at the river side is primitive. When work on the farms is slack, the peasants may be seen bringing the iron ore down to the river, there to subject it to a routine as old as man's first use of metal. From there they take it to the smelter on a woody hillside and transform the crude metal on the spot into old-fashioned agricultural tools. Iron mines are dotted over the

¹⁵ From March (or April) to September (or October) the average monthly rainfall is three inches. June alone receives about nine inches. The average annual rainfall varies between 60 and 90 inches.

¹⁶ Toward the end of the summer, typhoons "originate east of the Philippine Islands in the vicinity of the Marshall and Caroline Groups and move west and then northeast, either striking the southeastern coast of China or recurving toward Japan before reaching the mainland . . . They are small but very intense disturbances with exceptionally low pressure in their centres, steep barometric gradients and wind velocities up to 145 miles per hour. The disturbance as a whole may move a few hundred miles a day". (Cressey, *China's Geographical Foundations*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1934, p. 67).

¹⁷ L. H. D. Buxton, *China: the Land and the People*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1929, p. 308.

hills. Those lying within the region under investigation are at An Ch'i and Lung Yen.

In East Kwangtung the principal mineral is wolfram. This occurs rather widely, but the chief mines within the region under survey are at Mei Hsien and at Chi Yang. Here wolfram is extracted from granite rock and in small quantities. Traditional methods of mining are in use, and the output is sold directly by the individual miners to merchants in the towns. During the World War, most of the wolfram was exported to foreign countries. In 1930, Kwangtung produced a total of 52,401 *piculs* of wolfram (one *picul* being about 133 lbs. or 60 kg.), valued at 1,860,000 Chinese dollars.

Of the non-ferrous minerals in East Kwangtung, anthracite coal is the most important. It is extracted along both banks of the Mei River, a tributary of the Han River. The coal is largely mined with primitive methods and shipped by junks to Sung Kou, a distance of 50 *li*. From there it is transported for sale to Chao Chou, about 270 *li*. From the mine to Chao Chou the cost of coal is about \$12 Chinese currency. Normally, one dollar per ton represents the profit of the business man. The underground miners are usually males and the surface workers females.

In South Fukien, also, coal is the most important mineral. The coal field here has Lung Yen for its centre, and extends eastward to Chang P'ing, Yung Chun and An Ch'i, westward to Wu P'ing, and southwestward to Yung Ting. We read:

"The birth of the Republic gave great impetus to enterprise by the Chinese in the Nan Yang, who enthusiastically returned to their ancestral country, to build roads and operate coal mines in South Fukien. Among their more serious ventures are the following:

"A corporation was formed at Singapore with a capital of twenty million dollars (Chinese), under the leadership of Lim Boon-keng and others, to establish an industrial bank in Fukien and to develop the mines. Wealthy emigrants in Ipoh, Straits Settlements, organized a company with two million dollars to build roads and to open mines between Foochow and Kuan Kiang. Credit belongs to the rich merchants of Rangoon, Burma, for a company organized with a capital of eight million Chinese dollars to build roads and develop mines between Lung Yen and Chang Chou.

"But when political instability again prevailed in China, especially during and after the second revolution, some of the emigrants became discouraged and left the country for the Nan Yang. Only the Yi Chi Corporation, which was organized by Li Yun-chin and others, successfully pushed ahead its effort

to open coal mines in Shao Wu. In 1915, when peace was restored, Chinese overseas renewed their efforts which included the development of the coal mines at Lung Yen and Yung Ch'i. However, because of various disturbances in later years, most of these plans failed of realization."¹⁸

Another important non-ferrous mineral, salt, is extracted in eight places on the sea coast of Fukien. They are all in the southwest: Shing Hua, Fu Tien, Chuan Chou, Ying Pien, Chin Kiang, Amoy, Chang Chou, and Chao An. Their combined production is about one million *piculs* a year. The prevailing method of extraction is that of evaporation. Most of the salt goes into direct consumption by the local population; the remainder is used for the preservation of fish and shipped to other Chinese cities.

On the sea coast of Kwangtung, salt is produced in seventeen places, four of which are within the area covered by this study: two in Yao P'ing and two in Chao Yang. Here also evaporation is the chief method of production. The annual output of salt in Kwangtung is about two million *piculs*, much of which is shipped to other Chinese ports.

RACIAL ORIGINS

MIGRATION MOVEMENTS

As previously intimated, overland communication between Central and South China has historically been difficult. In spite of this, there have of course over the centuries been movements of population to change the biological make-up of the residents in the two coastal provinces, especially from the less favoured mountainous regions in the interior. The more important movements of this sort have taken place in early times, and for these the existing records are obviously very incomplete. The chief evidence of such mass migrations is to be found in the existence today of several racial elements, living side by side, which have retained distinctive characteristics. Of such groups, there are at least three in Fukien, locally known as the Shan, the "Descendants of the Yellow Emperor", and Mongol; and four in Kwangtung, with the Non-Khmer in addition to the above.¹⁹ The "Descendants of the Yellow Emperor" are known to have migrated first from the Yellow River

¹⁸ Hu Yung-chuan, *Coal Mines of China* (in Chinese), Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1935, pp. 40-41.

¹⁹ Chi Li, *The Formation of the Chinese People*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, p. 279.

Valley to the Yangtze Valley, and thence later to the southern coast provinces.

Although the present study was not concerned with historic migration, it was nevertheless interesting in connection with it to meet families in South Fukien which definitely could trace the routes of their ancestors' migration from North to Central and then to South China. Both in South Fukien and in East Kwangtung there are families that have kept genealogical records for many generations. Though some of these records are spurious, in other cases the ancestry of the families is authentically established. Such records often indicate not only the original habitat in Central or North China but also mention the southward overseas migration of some of the family members. Thus the genealogy of the Ling family in Fu T'ien, South Fukien, shows that its ancestors originally came from Central China; that in the year 1752 (eleventh year of T'ien Pao, T'ang Dynasty) an ancestor named May Chi became an official at Lin T'ing in Fukien, and that nine of his sons also distinguished themselves in the service of the government. At later times other members of the Ling family, which continued to live in Fukien, became well known. Between 1821 and 1850 (during the reign of Emperor Tao Kuan, Ching Dynasty), some of its members emigrated to West Borneo, Netherlands India. Today many members of the family live there, distributed over a number of towns between Pontianak and Sinkawang.

A somewhat earlier migration to the East Indies is recorded in the genealogical records of the Tsai or Tsoa family of Tsai Village in Lung Ch'i, Chang Chou. A member of it left home for Java in 1753 (eighteenth year of the reign of Ch'ien Lung). The Tsai family first settled in Soerabaya but later spread to other Javanese cities. Through the marriage of the first settler with a Javanese princess, Njai Roro Kiendjeng, this family became one of the most prominent Peranakan families in Java.²⁰ In 1936, it had lived there for five generations.

The same historical event which was responsible for the southward move of the founder of the Ling family in Fukien, mentioned above, namely the invasion of the Five Barbarian Tribes, was the cause of an extensive southward migration. Among the ethnic

²⁰ Peranakan is the general name for old-established Chinese residents in Netherlands India, while Chinese newcomers are called Singkeh.

groups most affected were the Hakka who had been dislocated from their ancestral home four centuries before Ling arrived in Fukien and who are said to have migrated five times between the years 311 (fifth year of the reign of Yung Chia) and 1874 (last year of Tung Chih). From the vicinity of Mei Hsien in East Kwangtung, where they first settled and which still is their chief habitat, the Hakka subsequently were diffused also over other parts of East Kwangtung, East Szechwan, and South Fukien. Overseas migration of the Hakka to the Nan Yang began to assume importance about the middle of the eighteenth century when they began to settle in Mandor and its environs in West Borneo under the leadership of Lo Fang-peh, to engage in mining.

Considerable shifts of population have occurred also within the region under survey. During our field investigation we were frequently reminded by local people that large population increases had occurred in some villages, while in others there had been a substantial decrease. These changes could not be explained with demographic differences, but evidently had been caused by both inter-regional and intra-regional migrations, such as in some instances are credibly recorded.

In the absence of reliable documents or other concrete evidence, it may tentatively be suggested, perhaps, that in the present rather complicated ethnological setting of rural Kwangtung and Fukien three main types are to be distinguished: (1) the South Fukienese who at present inhabit Chuan Chou and Chang Chou; (2) the Hoklo who now live in Swatow and vicinity; (3) the Hakka who make Mei Hsien and its environs their chief habitat. The South Fukienese and the Hoklo speak similar dialects, with slight variations in vocabulary and pronunciation. In material culture the similarities between these two groups are also noteworthy. The Hakka are different from both groups in respect to the spoken language and other culture traits.

Historically, as above hinted, all three groups originally came from Central China. After their settlement in Kwangtung and Fukien they gradually became assimilated to the natives in culture and, to a smaller degree, amalgamated with them through marriage. Among the aborigines there are the Yu who live in the mountains between Chekiang and Fukien, the Shiu on the Hunan-Kwangtung

border, and the Boat People who live for the most part on the river deltas in Fukien and Kwangtung.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MEASUREMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS

Although the relations between the Chinese and the other ethnic groups in Kwangtung and Fukien have not yet been fully explored, we are of the opinion that the present inhabitants of these provinces, taken as a whole, are in several respects unlike those of other parts of China. In stature they seem to be shorter than the people of the Yellow River Valley and also those of the Yangtze Valley.²¹

TABLE 1.

<i>Region</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
	<i>cm.</i>	<i>cm.</i>
North China	169.2	158.0
Central China	165.1	154.0
South China	163.0	151.4
Fukien	167.6	156.0
Kwangtung	164.6	153.0

As regards body weight, the inhabitants of Kwangtung and Fukien, according to the present state of knowledge, are somewhat lighter than those of Central China and considerably lighter than those of North China:

TABLE 2.

<i>Region</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
	<i>kg.</i>	<i>kg.</i>
North China	59.8	50.2
Central China	52.6	47.2
South China	50.4	46.6
Fukien	52.1	49.0
Kwangtung	49.8	45.3

If general observation may be trusted, it would seem that among the people of East Kwangtung and South Fukien a fairly large proportion are broad-nosed. This and other physical characteristics

²¹ The figures are taken from P. H. Stevenson, "Collected Anthropometric Data on the Chinese." *China Medical Journal*, 1925, Vol. 39, No. 10, pp. 8, 22, 26-31.

are not, however, necessarily racial in origin, since peculiarities of the environment, more especially the hot summers and the large proportion of days with clear sunshine, must have a considerable influence on the respiratory organs, the skin, and so on.²² This belief is strengthened by the fact that among the residents of Chinese blood in the Nan Yang whose ancestors have left South Fukien a long time ago, and whose families, therefore, have lived in a tropical environment for several generations, there appear many individuals with darker skin than is to be found among their compatriots at home. Such progeny of emigrants, we were informed, were not descendants of mixed marriages between Chinese and darker people in the Nan Yang.

DENSITY OF POPULATION

As has already been hinted, the physical configuration of the region under consideration and the history of its settlement tend to make for a high density of population. The ten *hsien* on the sea coast of East Kwangtung and South Fukien included in this study carry a population estimated at a little over 4,600,000 on a land area of about 4,942 square miles, or about 930 per square mile; but the density of population in some of the *hsien* is even greater. It is difficult in this connection to separate purely agricultural areas from urban ones, since they belong to the same administrative units and no separate statistics are kept. Thus, for example, Shih Ming which has almost 5,000 persons to the square mile is largely rural, but it also contains the city of Amoy. Similarly, Chin Hai contains Swatow. Other *hsien* also contain towns of considerable importance, including some of those ports which, though of relatively small importance now for China's foreign trade, have at one time been lively centres of commerce, and embarkation points for emigration.

To speak of a high or a low density of population without reference, not only to the cultivated area, but also to the fertility and general character of that area, is of course meaningless. Therefore, instead of giving figures here, as is customary, stating the density of population per unit of cultivated land, a few general considerations

²² L. D. H. Buxton, *China: the Land and the People*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1929, pp. 50-51; also A. Thomson and L. D. H. Buxton, "Man's Nasal Index in Relation to Certain Climatic Conditions," *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 53, 1923, pp. 92-122.

will be given. To begin with, a high density is explained for a large part of the area by the exceptional fertility of the soil and by a climate which permits a double crop of rice or supplementary crops when rice is planted only once a year. Because of the nearness to the sea, fishery products to a large extent supplement the food resources of the land. Commerce has given rise to a variety of industries, and, although many of these are still carried on in the traditional manner in the homes of citizens, nevertheless their total contribution to the support of the population must be considerable. Commerce and transportation also absorb a not negligible part of the available man-power.

All this does not mean that in the region under survey special advantages and opportunities offset an unusually high demand on its resources. The advantages and opportunities themselves have historically been the cause of a large infiltration of peoples from farther inland and have from time to time produced a dangerous over-population. Everyone is familiar with the problems of population pressure that arise from the effect of lack or decrease of natural resources on a population with a normal rate of reproduction; everyone is familiar also with problems of population pressure that have historically been caused where a group driven by want from its historic habitat has made war on a more favoured region and invaded it. But there are also examples in different parts of the world of overpopulation in naturally rich areas which is caused not so much by some particular series of historic events as by a slow influx of people from without as well as an excessive rate of reproduction within. If such a region is situated on the seaboard, either the development of trade and industry or emigration (or both) provides an outlet which in normal times may prevent the growth of an intolerable destitution or a violent outbreak of expansionist movements.²⁸ Because of its remoteness from the seat of imperial power and its relative lack of influence on imperial policies, this part of China has not produced the motive power for a colonial expansion in the political sense, though for centuries some of its more

²⁸ An interesting parallel to the situation in the maritime counties of South China may, perhaps, be seen in that of Flanders, with its former wealth and greatness and its present density of population and poverty. In both cases, trade and shipping and the development of industries have not been able to prevent, under modern conditions of international competition, the growth of serious problems the solutions for which are either colonial expansion or emigration. *The Editor*.

adventurous inhabitants have settled overseas and established trading stations in different parts of the Nan Yang, in some instances creating flourishing towns which later were absorbed by the colonial empires of the West. It was natural, therefore, that in modern times what in the main had been channels of trade should more and more develop into channels for the export of one great "commodity" of this region which still was able to find a market, and until less than a generation ago a constantly enlarging one: its surplus of human labour power.

CHAPTER II

CULTURE TRAITS

OCCUPATIONS IN TYPICAL COMMUNITIES

FOR MANY CENTURIES the different ethnic groups that arrived from the interior in the coastal provinces of South China have had to adapt themselves to an environment which often was very different from that which they had left behind. We do not know exactly what these adaptations have been, or how those of one group deposited here by a wave of population pressure or of war have differed from those of another. Especially for the more remote past, records of these struggles either are non-existent or imperfect. Nor has this adaptation been a single occurrence in each case. Less severe in nature, perhaps, but repeated must have been those subsequent modifications of the mode of life by which the descendants of the original new-comers and the indigenous people alike have adapted themselves to changing conditions—if not from generation to generation, at least over longer intervals of time. Such changes, in as far as we know of them, are of interest chiefly as illustrations of social evolution. More interesting, however, is the fact that amid influences for change which in a sea-bordering region must have been fairly continuous, many apparently very ancient traits have been preserved. For, from the distance between these ancient culture traits and those more newly acquired, and from the nature of their diffusion, we may gain a sense of the struggle for physical and cultural survival through which at least a part of this population must have passed.

In the present study which does not extend to archaeological facts, the data collected on the occupations of the people afford, at least in a general way, clues to some of the more general changes through which a large number of the inhabitants of the region have passed in recent times. A description of the occupations will indicate in various ways not only the vocational requirements of the social

situation as it is today, but also reminders of the social situation as it has existed in the past, with its possibly very different totality of vocational needs, taking the population as a whole. The material on this topic, drawn from the documents consulted and from the records of the field survey, shows great variations both in the occupational types and in the proportions of numbers engaged in them, both as between emigrant and non-emigrant communities, but also between emigrant communities. The following main conclusions, however, seem justified by the data: (1) since East Kwangtung and South Fukien are largely mountainous, the inhabitants were early driven to seek their living in ways other than by farming, and a larger proportion of the people than in most parts of China are obliged to do so today; (2) since a considerable part of the region is near the sea, many people are, as one would expect, engaged in navigation and fishing; (3) since the region is shut off from Central China by mountains on the Northwest and has access to the sea on the Southeast, a fairly large number of the more ambitious young people have for long been in the habit of migrating overseas to earn their living in the Nan Yang.

These three conditions have been cumulatively effective through history, each producing a trend toward specialization which has contributed toward the culture complex as a whole. And for each of these trends interesting records have been found of which the following excerpts may serve as samples.

CHUAN CHOU—FIFTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

Chuan Chou in South Fukien forms the northern extremity of the emigrant region covered by the present inquiry. Its topography, its natural products, and the characteristics of its social classes were described fifty-five years ago as follows:

"Chuan Chou is bounded by the mountains on one side and by the sea on the other. It produces lichee (*Nephelium Litchi*, Camb) and lungnan (*Nephelium Longana*, Camb) in great quantities. Marine products, such as fishes and prawns, are more abundant than the product of the rice farms. Near the small islands, fishing takes the place of land cultivation [as the main occupation of the inhabitants]. Close by the mountains, the inhabitants till the infertile slopes. Sugar is made from canes; rice is partly imported, as the area is small and the density of the population is high.

"Artisans are skilful and imitative: they are able to reproduce either the silks of the Northern Chinese or the tapestry of the western barbarians.

Peasant women wear straw slippers and carry burdens. They work side by side with men. Scholars are often studious and deeply versed in the classics. Teachers of the poorer class make all their living by teaching. Members of the gentry seem to be more numerous here than in Central China. The gentlemen are seldom quick-witted. The humble people are frugal and sustain life by their own efforts."²⁴

HAI CHIN—SIXTY YEARS AGO

As the greater part of the surrounding territory is near the sea, Hai Chin is one of the famous embarkation centres for emigrants in South Fukien. It has long had, and still has, a large number of emigrant sons in the Nan Yang.

"Merchants depend on big junks to import commodities from abroad. Girls and women show propriety in their bearing and are industrious when engaged in domestic pursuits. In the well-to-do families, the females seldom go out of doors. Farming is prosperous near the mountains. Fishing and navigation are the prevalent means of livelihood near the seaboard. The state of culture is high. Pirates who at times used to visit these shores have become less frequent since the establishment of the *hsien* administration here."²⁵

AMOY—A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

The following description of Amoy, though brief, reveals some general traits of the inhabitants. References here to the earlier junk trade between Amoy and the Nan Yang ports, and to the mode of early overseas migration, are of particular interest to our study:

"There is a shortage of rice fields on Amoy Island. Near the mountains potatoes are grown; near the sea fishing usually supplements farming. There are about twice as many fishermen as there are farmers. In the bay, poor people are busily engaged in obtaining aquatic products, making use of oyster beds, fish traps, and clam enclosures. Definite boundaries are set up right in the sea; and mutual trespassing is not allowed. Fishing in other people's territory may give rise to disputes which if serious may result in manslaughter.

"Merchants accumulate wealth by engaging in foreign trade, and are gradually becoming accustomed to life on the sea. Their northward voyages extend to Ningpo, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Chin Chou. Going south, they make stops at ports in East Kwangtung and thence cross the sea to Taiwan (Formosa). Sometimes they make several such trips in a year. Farther south they may go to Manila, the Sulu Archipelago, Singapore, or Batavia. Usually

²⁴ Hui Yin-pu, compiler, *Gazetteer of Chuan Chou* (in Chinese), edition of Kuang Hsu eighth year (1882), vol. 11, book 20 (Folkways), p. 4.

²⁵ Shen Ting-chun, compiler, *Gazetteer of Chang Chou* (in Chinese), edition of Kuang Hsu fourth year (1878), vol. 19, book 38 (Folkways), pp. 2-3.

only one of these longer trips is made in the course of a year. As profits range from a few times to over a dozen times the capital investment, especially among the pioneer traders, some are tempted to liquidate all their property and re-invest it in junk building. Thus, fortunes are quickly made and quickly lost. Those who make their living by the junk shipping trade can be counted by the thousands."²⁶

CHAO CHOU—FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

Chao Chou in East Kwangtung illustrates yet another important sector of the emigration area covered by this study. In its general culture complex, Chao Chou resembles the centres of South Fukien, as will be seen from the following excerpt.

"The rice farmers of Chao Chou are relatively well-to-do. Other agrarian groups of poorer economic standing also engage in sea-borne trade; they customarily come and go between Cha P'u, Soochow, Sung Kiang, Shanghai, and other ports. Girls and women are chiefly engaged in embroidery, spinning, and weaving. They are seldom seen on the streets or employed in outdoor labour on the farms. When they live near the mountains, women become foresters; when near the sea, they catch marine products to help earn their living.

"In the mountains, the soil is infertile, and the inhabitants are uneducated. In the regions of easy communication by water, where also the soil is fertile, the people are crafty. The gentlemen are simple in appearance and intelligent in spirit. The humble folk are outwardly thrifty and inwardly cunning.

"Both the dialect and the folkways in Chao Chou are similar to those found in South Fukien."²⁷

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS

In the previous chapter, brief accounts have been given of the natural environment of the emigrant region and of the composition of the population. We have then summarized some of the main facts concerning the character of the inhabitants and their chief cultural traits, and glanced at the records concerning their occupations in the past. To gain further light on their social milieu we must now pay attention to their present major occupations in which, it should be remembered, most of the emigrants also are engaged before they go abroad. Since this section describes the general situation in East Kwangtung and South Fukien, it will serve as a

²⁶ Chou K'ai, compiler, *Gazetteer of Amoy* (in Chinese), edition of Tao Kuang twelfth year (1832), vol. 12, book 15 (Folkways), pp. 5-6.

²⁷ Chou Shi-shun, compiler, *Gazetteer of Chao Chou* (in Chinese), edition of Kuang Hsu, nineteenth year (1893), vol. 3, book 12 (Folkways), p. 5.

background for the following chapter which is devoted to the more specific information gathered by means of the field survey concerning the occupations that prevail in the emigrant villages selected for the present study.

AGRICULTURE

Rice farming and its effect on population. In Fukien, the cultivated land occupies only 12 per cent of the land area, whereas in Chekiang, its immediate neighbour province, it is more than one-fourth (26.3 per cent) of the total area. On the plains of Fukien, rice is the most important crop, constituting almost two-thirds (63 per cent) of all the agricultural products of the province. Wheat comes next with 15 per cent; and 6 per cent of the land in cultivation is devoted to beans. In some areas, potatoes are an important food crop for local consumption and occupy a place second only to rice. Mountain slopes are in places terraced for the cultivation of rice, especially where mountain streams are available for irrigation. In higher altitudes, where the water supply is insufficient for rice, mountain terraces are often devoted to the growing of potatoes or of ground nuts.

Along the sea coast of South Fukien, the proportional area of cultivated land is smaller than farther inland, for this region is hilly, and the hills, though not very high (rarely over three hundred feet), produce a topography of small, broken surfaces and of sloping planes that are not easily cultivable.

In the ten *hsien* of the emigrant communities in South Fukien and East Kwangtung, the density of population in relation to the cultivated land area is generally high.

In East Kwangtung, the proportion of land under cultivation likewise is small. In our travels we were told in many places by the local farmers that the amount of rice produced locally did not suffice to meet the needs of the population. In the emigrant communities, more careful inquiry showed that the locally produced rice normally supplies the demand of the inhabitants for only three or four months in the year.

Since 1921, the area of cultivated land in East Kwangtung has shown a tendency to decrease. According to information gathered by the Chinese Maritime Customs, the cultivated land in Yao P'ing, Chao An, Chin Hai, and Chi Yang has decreased from three-fourths

of the total area in 1922 to two-fifths in 1931.²⁸ A number of factors have been responsible for this decline, but the most immediate one is the emigration on a rather large scale of young males from these districts to the countries of the Nan Yang. The volume of this emigration was much reduced by the world depression and continues to be much below that considered normal in the early 'twenties.

Other forms of agriculture. The cultivation of sugar cane in Ching Ning, Chao Chou, Chi Yang, Chin Hai, and Yao P'ing follows traditional lines. Planting starts in April, and the harvest season arrives in September but may be extended to December. Soya bean cake is the chief fertilizer used. The same field may be planted to sugar cane in two successive years; after that, rice or potatoes must take the place of this crop, or there is danger that the soil will be depleted.

Green and red sugar cane are found. The former, having a circumference of about an inch, attains the height of six or eight feet, is not very sweet, and is generally used for manufacturing sugar. The red cane has about the same circumference but is only from five to seven feet high. It is very sweet and often eaten fresh.

The average yield of cane is about 30 *piculs* per *mow* (one *mow* being about one-sixth of an acre), or 23.5 tons per hectare. In 1930, about three-fifths of the total production went to the local crushers, and the remaining two-fifths was marketed in Chao Chou, Swatow, Canton, Amoy, and other Chinese cities. Four kinds of manufactured sugar are obtainable, representing different degrees of refinement: white, yellow, tan, and black. But even the best grade suffers from the competition of imported sugar. For this reason, the area given over to cane fields has rapidly decreased in recent years; today it occupies only about one-tenth of the area it occupied at the beginning of the Republic. For a time, in 1931, when the Chinese Government abolished the *likin* tax and raised the duty on imported sugar, the sugar industry in East Kwangtung showed considerable activity.

Swatow oranges are produced along the Chao Chou—Swatow railway and are most abundant near the station at Kuan Chou, but are also grown in large quantities in Chao Chou, P'u Ning, Chiao Ling, and Hui Lai. There are five kinds of Swatow oranges, all

²⁸ China Maritime Customs, *Decennial Reports*, Fifth Issue, Vol. II, p. 158.

sweet and juicy. The planting is usually by the graft method: a twig is taken from an old tree and grafted in the spring on a vigorous one. After four years the new tree bears fruit. The best fruit-bearing period extends from six to fourteen years. After the sixteenth year, the tree ceases to have commercial value. The density of growth is usually between twelve and fifteen hundred orange trees per *mow*. Each tree bears on an average about 40 *catties* (or 24 kg.) of oranges; each *mow* produces about 52 *piculs* (i.e., about 242 kg. per hectare). An average price is about seven Chinese dollars per *picul*, about one-half of which represents return on the capital invested. The principal fertilizers in use are bone-meal, straw ashes, and soya bean cake.

The tea produced in South Fukien, especially in An Ch'i, is famous for its quality, and is shipped to Amoy for export, chiefly to Formosa. The tea from Nin Yang is usually exported to British Malaya, Siam, and the Netherlands Indies. At Chang Chou, a certain tea was originally introduced from Hang Chow and is now chiefly used for local consumption. Olong tea is produced at Chian Chou, Amoy, and Chang Chou. Thirty years ago, this was largely exported to Europe and America. In recent times, its market has been usurped by the Formosan tea. The red tea of Yu Yi Shan, however, is still in favour in the Occident.

Potatoes are grown on the hillsides of South Fukien. Planted in June, they are harvested in November. The yield is between 20 and 25 *piculs* per *mow* (9 to 11½ tons per hectare). Potato-meal and dried chips constitute the chief food of the poor people in many regions. During the period 1922-1931 the local authorities prohibited the export of potatoes from South Fukien in order to lower local food prices.

HANDICRAFTS

Chin Hai cloth. The Chin Hai cloth is the most popular among the local textile fabrics of East Kwangtung. It is for the most part produced in Chin Hai, but also in Chao Yang and Chao Chou, where more especially the coarser kinds are woven. At the latter two places, the cloth is sold unbleached. The piece is twelve yards long and from twelve to thirteen inches wide; a piece of the cheaper quality sells for about one Chinese dollar. Cotton yarn of ten counts is used. Yarn represents nine-tenths of the cost of produc-

tion; the remainder goes in wages. Chao Yang has some 30,000 weavers, practically all of them girls and married women who work in their own homes.

The better type of cloth made in Chin Hai uses cotton yarn of twenty or occasionally forty counts. The piece is usually fifteen yards long and eighteen or nineteen inches wide, and is sold for about four Chinese dollars. The Chin Hai cloth is usually striped: blue or red against a white background. The cotton yarn in this case represents from 80 to 85 per cent of the cost of production, most of the remaining 15 or 20 per cent representing wages. Formerly, Chin Hai had 5,000 looms, most of them owned by small capitalists who employed girls and married women. Wages are paid by the piece, at rates of about 20 or 30 cents a piece.

During the European war there was an increased demand for the Chin Hai cloth, as foreign cloth reached the local market in greatly reduced volume. Recently, when the Chinese in the Nan Yang began to boycott Japanese imports, the export of Chin Hai cloth to that area increased greatly. Since then, Chin Hai cloth has become quite popular in that market because of its durable quality and reasonable price. It has also become the favourite fabric of the middle and lower classes in East Kwangtung itself.

Grass cloth. Grass cloth is made from ramie (the fibre of nettle), hemp, or pineapple fibre, or a combination of fibres from two or three vegetable sources. The inferior grades are yellow, the best ones white and resembling linen.

The nettle (*urtica nivea*) is grown on the hills in Chi Yang and on the hillsides about thirty-five miles south of Swatow. The nettle is best for use about June, when it attains a height of about six feet. There may be another harvest later in the year—in November or even in February—but the fibre of this later growth is often too brittle for spinning. The ramie fibre must first be bleached before it is spun, a job done chiefly by female labour in Chi Yang. The thread is woven into cloth both locally and in neighbouring villages.

Hemp (*Cannabis*) is produced in P'ao Ling in Chi Yang, and also in Chao Yang. When fully grown, the plant reaches a height of over ten feet. Its fibre is inferior to that of nettle.

Pineapple fibre (*Bromedia Ananas*) is imported from Singapore by way of Hoihow. Chi Yang in East Kwangtung is the chief consumer of this imported material; but smaller quantities of it go

to Chao Yang, Chao Chou, and Chin Hai. This fibre also is inferior to hemp.

A great deal of the grass cloth produced in Chi Yang is shipped to the Chinese cities in the Yangtze Valley and exported to Japan and the Nan Yang. With the tidal wave of August 2nd, 1922, previously referred to, the production of nettle in Chi Yang was very much reduced. In the following year military operations also interfered with the local trade. In more recent years, however, the trade in grass cloth has shown steady progress. The planters are usually male, the spinners and weavers female.

The three kinds of fibre named above, especially ramie, are also used to make fish nets, partly to meet the local demand and partly for export to supply Chinese fishermen in the Nan Yang.²⁹

Drawn Work. Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty, members of the American Baptist Mission at Swatow trained some of its Chinese female converts to do stitching and drawn work, chiefly for sale in the United States. Part of the proceeds went to the workers as wages, and part to mission schools toward expenses of maintenance.³⁰ Drawn work gradually became popular, until in 1921 the industry did a business worth about a million dollars. Since the world depression, this trade has decreased.

Formerly, the grass cloth woven in Canton was mainly used as the fabric for all types of drawn work. Since that textile industry was developed in Chi Yang, East Kwangtung, the Chi Yang cloth has gradually replaced it, occasionally supplemented by Shantung pongee or Irish muslin. More recently, crochet cotton is also imported for this purpose. The thread used generally comes from England, ranging from 40 to 70 counts.

Drawn work is done almost entirely by female labour in Chi Yang and Chao Yang. The product is sent to Chao Chou to be embroidered. Chao Yang girls are highly skilled workers, their total earnings amounting to about C.\$10,000 per month.

Various patterns of drawn work are applied to tablecloths, bedspreads, pillow cases, cushion covers, handkerchiefs, tea cloths, window curtains, and embroidered garments for women. Except for a few workshops, the industry is carried on in the homes of the

²⁹ See Chapter IV, p. 72.

³⁰ Some of the returns were used to establish the Abigail Hart Scott Memorial School at Kakchihoh.

workers. The total number of female workers employed in it, in Chao Chou, Chi Yang, Chao Yang, and Chin Hai, is about 30,000. Except for relatively small local sales the product is shipped to Central and North China, and exported to Europe, North America, and the Nan Yang.³¹

Pottery. Feng Ch'i in Chao Chou, and Kao Po in Ta P'u are noted for their ceramics, those produced in the latter place being superior in quality. The materials chiefly used are clay and potash feldspar found in the local hills. All the processes are traditional and, of course, require only manual labour. The great majority of the adult males in Feng Ch'i and Kao Po are part of the time engaged in this industry. They are assisted by female workers in their homes.

The pottery products serve, in the main, the home needs of the lower and middle classes. They include, among a wide range of objects, tea cups, rice bowls, tea pots, ash trays, flower pots, and jars. Formerly, a considerable part of the production was exported to the Nan Yang; Chinese families overseas generally prefer the pottery from South China for household uses. When business was good the annual exports from Feng Ch'i alone were estimated to be worth a million-and-a-half dollars. In recent years the foreign market has been reduced by the increasing competition of Japanese earthenware and porcelain.

Joss paper. The materials used for making joss paper are chiefly (1) bamboo paper which comes from Ting Chou in Southwestern Fukien, and the upper reaches of the Han River in North Kwangtung, (2) tin, mined in Yunnan, (3) paste or gum, imported from Singapore, and (4) flower juice, brought from Mei Hsien. The principal centre of the joss paper trade was formerly at Nan Tai in Fukien. Later it shifted to Huang Kang in East Kwangtung. Now the most prosperous part of this business is done at Lien Yang in Chin Hai, which is surrounded by emigrant villages. In this district, the joss paper workers number about 30,000.

The making of joss paper involves only hand labour. The usual process is to beat out a cubic inch of tin to make two square feet of tin foil which is pasted on bamboo paper of the same size. Later a certain flower juice is added which gives the metal surface a golden tint.

³¹ China Maritime Customs, *Decennial Reports*, fourth issue, Vol. II, pp. 178-79.

The tinfoil beaters usually are males who earn between 25 and 45 dollars per month. Pasting is done by females who receive a monthly wage of between 15 and 25 dollars. Other helpers, also female, earn only between 5 and 12 dollars a month.

In East Kwangtung, probably 80 to 90 shops are engaged in the joss paper trade, and their total annual output is estimated to be worth about four-and-a-half million dollars.⁸² About one-tenth of the joss paper produced is for local use; the remainder is shipped to other Chinese cities and to the Nan Yang. Between January and August, 1937, China is reported to have exported a total of 40,680 quintals of joss paper, valued at \$1,754,314. Of this quantity, 30,594 quintals have gone to British India and Burma, French Indo-China, Netherlands India, Siam, and British Malaya, chiefly to supply the needs of Chinese residents there, to the value of \$1,354,691.⁸³

Fishing and Navigation. Along the sea-coast of East Kwangtung and South Fukien bays and islands abound where fishing and navigation are important means of livelihood. Southwest from Chuan Chou Bay lies Wei Tou Bay, southeast of Tung An. Still further southwest is Quemoy Island, and west of this Amoy. Travelling still farther in a southwestern direction we come to Tung Shan Bay, Li Shi Archipelago, and Chao An Bay, which takes in a bit of the shores of both Kwangtung and Fukien. Then follow Chai Ling Bay and Nan Ao Island. After that comes Swatow Bay, between Chin Hai and Chao Yang, where the Han River enters the sea.

Both river and coastal fishing are popular among the people. Among diverse methods of fishing in common practice the use of nets is the most frequent. As has already been mentioned, the making of nets is a subsidiary occupation for women and girls in some of the emigrant villages of the region.

River navigation still depends chiefly on junks, although tugboats have lately come into use. On the Han River, the Pan Chi junk has a capacity of 80 tons, and plies between T'ing Chou and Swatow, while the Ch'i Ling junk, with a capacity of 120 tons, plies between Shi Hsia Pa and Swatow. Bamboo paper is a frequent cargo from

⁸² China Maritime Customs, *Decennial Reports*, Fourth issue, Vol. II, pp. 177-78. Throughout this book, amounts given in dollars refer to Chinese currency unless otherwise stated.

⁸³ China Maritime Customs, Statistical Series No. 8: *Monthly Returns of the Foreign Trade of China*, August, 1937, p. 194.

T'ing Chou to Swatow while from Swatow to the out-ports the junks are loaded largely with sugar, vegetables, and fruit.

Sea-going junks are of much larger size. A junk of 500 tons usually has a crew of twelve men; one of 1,500 tons a crew of thirty men. Before the advent of steam navigation the junk trade between China and the Nan Yang was fairly prosperous. The migration of Chinese to that area also relied on Chinese junks in those early days.

THE PSYCHIC ENVIRONMENT

As has already been explained in the Introduction, the physical milieu and the social milieu as indicated by the primary adaptation of man to the material resources, that is, chiefly through his occupations, do not make up the whole of the environment. Having briefly discussed the chief efforts of the people of East Kwangtung and South Fukien to adapt themselves to their environment in its material and socio-economic aspects, it is necessary to pay some attention also to the ways in which they have tried to adapt themselves to the third and least tangible phase of their environment, namely the psychic implications of the other two. While in a later Chapter these implications will be traced to some extent for the groups of more especial interest to the present study, we can here only very briefly sketch the general emotional effects of the basic conditions of life on the people of the region as a whole, effects which in the course of time have become so deeply rooted in beliefs, mores, uses, and institutions, as to form a substantial part of the total environment as experienced by the individual.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF

Obviously the chief influence in this connection is the nearness and the accessibility of the sea. Fishing is not only the source of livelihood for a large section of the population of this coastal region, but it is also an important source of the food supply for the whole population. As in other parts of the world, sea fishery has by natural steps led to sea-borne trade; and it depends on the nature of the adjacent sea and on the state of technical advance reached by the population whether that trade remains small and within narrow range or becomes another important means of gain and extends over wide areas. The cultural side of such trade and travel has

important consequences of its own. Thus, the southern Chinese fisherman, finding it not only profitable but also convenient and agreeable to sail in certain directions at certain times of the year, developed the habit of ocean travel for other purposes, too. But once having established an economic dependence on such navigation, it becomes necessary under the stress of competition to extend it, both in time and place. At first only the seafarer of exceptional courage, but eventually every crew and every merchant and traveller faces perils that cannot always be fully comprehended but must be avoided at all cost. As voyaging by sea developed into a large-scale movement of population back and forth between South China and the countries of the Nan Yang, not only the inhabitants of the fishing towns, somewhat accustomed to the sea, and the city merchants, but large numbers of simple peasants took part in this experience. One would expect, therefore, a reaction to it in the beliefs and attitudes of the people as a whole somewhat different from that, say, of the people of an island archipelago or of a population inhabiting only a narrow coastal fringe. And this, indeed, is the case. It is out of the contact with the unusual, with something not readily explainable in terms of everyday occurrences, that religious beliefs are made. In his experiences at sea the peasant of Kwangtung or Fukien is brought face to face with unseen forces which, for him, become supernatural Powers. They, as much as the accustomed round of the seasons, are part of his psychic environment.

"The spirit world with its accountability, forms an entirely actual condition of life to which men are fain to adjust as they do to the natural and social conditions; it is a prodigious and unique addition to the circumstances of earthly life. No science of society can pretend to any degree of adequacy which does not take it into account as a fundamental consideration.

"The imaginary environment may not be as elemental and primordial as the environment of things and fellow men, but the reactions to it permeate societal life quite as fully and generally more obviously than do those evoked by nature or men."⁸⁴

In his attempt to adapt himself to the imaginary environment much in the same way as to the natural and socio-economic environment, the peasant evolves certain practices which in his own mind seem adequate and satisfactory for the purpose. Such practices are

⁸⁴ W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Vol. II, p. 788.

then said to have religious significance if by religion is meant "a belief in the supernatural and a method of dealing with it." More specifically:

"Religion is, in a word, society's adjustment to that which is, in any age, beyond knowledge—to the aleatory element, as personalized, through the long ages of human evolution, in the spirit-environment. As an institution, it is a frame work of customs, rites, symbols, phrases, scriptures, apparatus, altars, temples, costumes and various other details. The institution holds the ideas together and perpetuates them."⁸⁵

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Facing a psychic or imaginary environment, as above indicated, the peasant in Kwangtung and Fukien tries to appease the supernatural powers by performing certain rites in a manner prescribed by custom. He has unshaken faith in these powers, and relies on them to guide his actions. Through the faithful performance of the prescribed rites—whether in the community at large or in a particular group—he hopes to avoid misfortune of every sort.

A single example must here suffice to illustrate how even in former days local differences in religious practices impressed observers who would not have recorded their observations if they had been the same everywhere.

"According to local custom, the people generally worship Buddha. When a man dies, his family will recite Buddhist sutras and observe certain religious rites. During the funeral ceremony, children carry banners and beat drums. In some of the gentry families also this procedure has been adopted.

"The graveyard is usually selected by a geomancer. If no suitable site can be found, the deceased may not be properly buried, in some cases, for a dozen years after his death.

"Veneration of the ancestors is generally performed twice a year: during the second moon in spring and again in the autumn (or during the winter solstice). At the Ch'ing Ming festival, members of the family who visit their ancestors' tombs usually are accompanied by women and girls.

"During the seventh moon, it is the local usage to give offerings to ghosts who have no descendants to take care of them. On such occasions a feast is arranged and joss paper is burned. Large expenses are usually incurred on these occasions."⁸⁶

⁸⁵ W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1430.

⁸⁶ Shen Ting-chun, compiler, *Gazetteer of Chang Chou* (in Chinese), Vol. 19, book 38 (Folkways), p. 5. Both the reference here to Buddhism and that to the respect shown to the souls of deceased men without family—i.e. strangers—probably are indications of maritime influences on local religious beliefs. *The Editor*.

CHAPTER III
SOCIAL CHANGE
CAUSES AND TENDENCIES

WHATEVER MAY BE said about the relative stability of Chinese society, forces making for change have been at work throughout the ages. But it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the change took on a quasi-revolutionary character. It was only then that disruptive forces emanating from sources in the internal social structure received a powerful ally in forces deriving from China's vastly increased contacts with the Occident. While European culture had not been unknown to the Chinese—at least in some of its aspects if not in its entirety—it needed the impact of Western imperialism to reveal to Chinese thinkers the inadequacy of many features of Chinese life in the larger setting of modern world conditions, and to impel among the realistically minded a strong movement for social reform.

Among the conflicts of the turbulent second half of the century which most strongly aided that realization were two tragic wars, both of them disclosing weaknesses not only in China's external defences but also in its internal structure: the so-called Opium War of 1839-42 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. These events overshadowed other evidences of social disintegration and hastened the pace of social change. Most of the significant vicissitudes in China's political and social life during that half-century can directly or indirectly be traced to these calamities in the country's external relations. They largely produced, even though they were not the only cause, that series of revolutionary movements which started with the T'ai-ping Rebellion (ca. 1850-1864) and led up to the Republican Revolution (1911). Whatever the immediate motives and objectives, these movements in every case showed tendencies to break away from old traditions and to take over elements from the civilization of the West. According to the eminent late scholar Liang Ch'i-chao, three distinct periods of cultural change under the impulse of these movements may be distinguished in modern China.

"During the last fifty years (1872-1921), the Chinese have more and more expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction with their own inherited civilization. This state of consciousness is both cause and effect of cultural progress, as will presently be seen.

"In the first period, the Chinese were dissatisfied with their own mechanical inventions—or the lack of them. This was first brought to their realization by the Opium War. Then, during the T'ung Chi period (1862-74), they resorted to the employment of foreign troops with superior mechanical equipment to suppress a rebellion. Tsen Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang, who were convinced of the superiority of foreign nations in mechanical inventions, caused the establishment of a marine school and shipyard at Foochow, and of an arsenal near Shanghai. Over-emphasis on the material culture was in large measure responsible for the neglect, at that time, of taking steps to introduce new thinking from the West. But at the arsenal certain elementary scientific treatises were translated into the Chinese language, and this was a remarkable innovation, for at that time Chinese scholars did not, as a rule, know foreign languages, while those who were conversant with them lacked learning.

"The translation of scientific books paved the way for the second period of cultural progress; for the knowledge thus introduced made many thinkers realize that China's political and social institutions also called for reform. Among other influences, the Sino-Japanese War acted as a thunderbolt which startled even those Chinese who had the weakest sense of hearing. To rejuvenate the country, some people attempted to initiate constitutional reforms under the leadership of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-chao. These leaders were scholars trained in the old school who realized the usefulness of Western culture, but who themselves knew little or nothing of foreign languages. Their political propaganda failed, but their chief cultural achievement may be seen in the abolition of the old state examination system and substitution for it of a modern school system. Students were sent abroad for the pursuit of higher education. One of the returned students, Yen Fu, revolutionized Chinese thinking by translating into Chinese books bearing on the principal currents of European social thought of the nineteenth century.

"The third period emphasizes culture as a whole. For a little more than twenty years—from the Sino-Japanese War to the sixth year of the Republic (1895-1917), Chinese leaders had thought that it was possible to transform Chinese society gradually by introducing Western civilization in piecemeal fashion. In this they were disappointed; and the first decade of the Republic showed little real progress. Since the World War the whole world has entered a state of more vital concern with the realm of ideas. This also has affected China, for since that time more students of high calibre have returned from Europe and America who are agitating for a movement of emancipation and insisting on the 'totality of culture' as their central thesis."⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Liang Ch'i-chao, *Collected Essays of In Ping Shih* (in Chinese, Yi Chu Edition), Vol. 67, pp. 20-21.

There is no question that during the three periods of cultural change in China, described above, contact with the West was the most effective cause. The author correctly characterizes the sentiment of these years as an eager search for progress. China was in a state of cultural flux. But social change does not always denote progress. The disorganization and disintegration incident to it often bring about only confusion and even chaos. Bitterly lamenting the lack of social order and progress during this era, a well-known Chinese thinker says:

"Most of the 'fourteen reforms' (including the establishment of a bureau of compilation and translation, the marine school and shipyard, the new school system, etc., the opening of mines and railways, and the introduction of a telegraph and postal service) relate to the basis of political strength and economic prosperity in the West. But since we have brought them to China they seem to have changed in character and are not so useful to our national life [as we had hoped]. What is the explanation? Says the ancient poet Su Shih: 'The greatest misfortune that can befall a nation is that whatever the men in power advocate, is not responded to by the men below.' If such a state of affairs persists, the men above will eventually cease to be active."⁸⁸

According to Yen, lack of co-operation on the part of the people goes far to explain the leaders' inability to extend to Chinese society the benefit of some of these reforms. He therefore proposes to strengthen support for them by educating common men, and this in three ways: (1) by increasing their physical vigour (as, for example, through the abolition of opium smoking), (2) by extending their knowledge (as through the introduction of Western learning), and (3) by imparting to them new political and social ideals (as through the spread of patriotism and the adoption of a representative form of government).

Arguing along somewhat similar lines, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, shortly after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, submitted a memorandum to Marquis Li Hung-chang, succinctly setting forth his ideas of social reform by insisting that (1) everyone should have the fullest opportunity to use his ability, (2) land should be fully cultivated, (3) full use should be made of the country's material resources, and (4) commodities should be freely sold.⁸⁹

Some Chinese thinkers, then, have realized that social changes in

⁸⁸ Yen Fu, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁹ H. M. Hu, compiler, *Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen* (in Chinese), Vol. 3, Min Chi Book Co., Shanghai, 1930.

their country have been motivated and accelerated by foreign contacts, that such changes entail difficult problems, and that the solution of the problems arising from some of these changes must be sought in the social emancipation of the common people. The contributions of the ordinary man toward reform in thought and action in everyday life are not negligible; they are needed to alter old folkways that do not fit new times and to give the masses new habits that will add to their strength. We shall see in the following pages the part which even the more humble returned emigrant from the Nan Yang is playing in this general change.

TENDENCIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

It is not possible, of course, neatly to separate social changes either according to their cause—since usually a number of causes contribute to a given movement—or according to the particular area of cultural concern within which they operate; for influences on material culture, on political thought, and on social institutions cannot but affect also other concerns and reinforce each other. Nor is it possible to consider only those influences which to a notable extent have affected the region which is the subject of our study, for the concentric waves of influence which originated in some other parts of China unquestionably also reached it. We shall, nevertheless, in the remainder of this Chapter try to recognize, and if possible to evaluate, more especially those tendencies in modern China which either have a direct connection with these source regions of overseas migration or which, at any rate, are to be found effective in Kwangtung and Fukien.

Material progress. Mention has already been made of the fact that this region, geographically somewhat shut off from the rest of China, has been relatively little affected by happenings in the rest of the country. Correspondingly, the development of these provinces until comparatively recent times has had little influence on China as a whole. And this is true both of material progress and of changes in tastes and ideas.⁴⁰ Since the Opium War, however, when China's intercourse with the West gradually increased, the

⁴⁰ "Until a hundred years ago, Kwangtung never produced an unusual man whose cultural influence extended over the entire nation. Being a mountainous country south of the Nan Ling range, Kwangtung was submissive to the reigning emperors and appeared to be satisfied with that position." Liang Ch'i-chao, *op. cit.*, Vol. 35, p. 61.

role which the two provinces have played in the modernization of China has become more and more important. Of the earliest ports opened to Western trade, Kwangtung claims Canton (opened in 1842, under the Treaty of Nanking) and Swatow (opened in 1858); and Fukien claims Foochow and Amoy (both opened in 1842). Of these ports, Swatow and Amoy are the principal outlets for the region where the principal data for the present study have been collected.

That region thus was among the first to be opened to the West, as a direct result of the Opium War; and it was here that many of those reforms which later were transferred to other parts of the country were first tried out. Two instances must suffice. The marine school and shipyard already mentioned were established in 1866 (the fifth year of Emperor T'ung Chi) at Pagoda Anchorage near Foochow by the Viceroy of Fukien and Chekiang, Chu Tsung-t'ang. Later, Chu was transferred to Shensi and Kansu, and his position in the southern provinces was taken by Shen Pao-chen. Between 1869 (the eighth year of T'ung Chi) and 1907 (thirty-third year of Kuang Hsu), the shipyard completed the building and repair of forty vessels, and helped to extend Chinese steam navigation to Tientsin and Chinwangtao in the north and to Singapore in the Nan Yang.

Again, in the matter of railway construction, though not the first, the people of this region were among the pioneers. The building of the Chao Chou—Swatow railway was begun in 1903 (twenty-ninth year of Kuang Hsu), only twenty-seven years after the opening of the first railway in China, the short Woosung—Shanghai line (1876). The building of the Chang Chou—Amoy railway was started in 1905 (thirty-first year of Kuang Hsu), two years after the Chao Chou—Swatow line had been placed under construction.

These enterprises do not, of course, stand by themselves, but indicate that the social and economic thinking in this region must already have been considerably affected by contacts with the West. Indeed, as we shall have further occasion to see below, there is evidence that the participants in these and other relatively large ventures were imbued with high social ideals as well as actuated by the profit motive, and that their plans for the development of the region had largely been shaped by foreign contacts and experiences.

The development of social thinking. Of all Chinese provinces, Kwangtung takes the lead in many branches of social reform. Thus, in 1879 (fifth year of Kuang Hsu), the first school for girls was established in the province, soon to be followed—in 1896 (twenty-second year of Kuang Hsu)—by the organization in Canton of the Natural Foot Society, under the leadership of K'ang Yu-wei. In 1903 (twenty-ninth year of Kuang Hsu), a member of the local gentry introduced what was then a novelty by contributing \$200,000 toward the building of schools.

TABLE 3. PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN AMOY AND SWATOW, 1912-1934

Year	Number of new schools established		Year	Number of new schools established	
	Amoy	Swatow		Amoy	Swatow
1912	1	0	1924	1	2
1913	0	0	1925	3	1
1914	1	0	1926	0	3
1915	1	0	1927	2	0
1916	0	0	1928	2	0
1917	0	0	1929	1	3
1918	0	0	1930	1	1
1919	2	1	1931	1	3
1920	2	0	1932	0	2
1921	0	2	1933	1	2
1922	3	0	1934	1	1
1923	2	3	Total	25	24

This initiation of significant educational and social services had been prepared for by the activity of foreign missionaries. As early as 1863 (second year of T'ung Chi), the British Presbyterians began evangelistic and medical work in Swatow. Four years later a hospital was opened in that city under the administration of William Gauld, and the New Testament was soon after translated into the Swatow dialect.⁴¹ In Amoy and its vicinity, similar beginnings were made. In 1870 (ninth year of T'ung Chi), the Dutch Reformed Church opened in Amoy a school for girls, which ten years later was moved to the island of Kulangsu⁴². In recent years,

⁴¹ K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1929, p. 450.

⁴² K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

provision for education in Swatow and Amoy has shown steady progress, as will be seen from Table 3.

Before the establishment of the Republic, Amoy had twelve schools, three of which were mission schools. Between that time and 1934, no less than twenty-five new schools came into existence—especially since 1919, for almost every year thereafter witnessed the opening of one or more new schools. In Swatow there were four schools before the Republic, two of them mission schools. Since then, but beginning a little later than in Amoy, a rapid increase in school accommodation took place here, too. As in Amoy, 1919 seems to have been the pivotal year, for almost each subsequent year saw the opening of at least one, and usually more than one, new school.

As distinct from the primary school which expresses a general social ideal, the secondary school may be regarded as more definitely a symbol of educational ambition. The progress made in the provision of middle schools therefore has a significance of its own. In Amoy, five of the ten middle schools now in operation came into existence since the beginning of the Republic. One of the most interesting of these, the Chee Bee Middle School, initiated and until recently maintained by Mr. Tan Ka-kee, a well-known emigrant to Singapore who also made possible the establishment of Amoy University in 1920, was opened in 1917. All of the ten middle schools in Swatow were started in Republican days. The first one opened its doors in 1915, the others since 1924.

The increase in the number of schools is matched by a corresponding growth in the number of pupils which was greatly accelerated with the impetus given to educational thought by the Revolution of 1911. For instance, when the Chee Bee Elementary School, the first of that group, started on January 27th, 1912, it had a total registration of 135 pupils. In the early spring of 1935, when the field work of the present study was in progress, the total number of students in the Chee Bee schools was 1,373.

Again, as in the case of the development of steam navigation and of railways, our brief statement here must necessarily be limited to a few outstanding symptoms of what can only be regarded as a profound change in the social life of this region. If records were available, the rise of school education might be shown, for example, to have been paralleled by a remarkable growth also in

adult education—especially in the cities where not only old Confucian premises have been re-dedicated to learning in a modern sense, but where also new libraries and other institutions have arisen to provide facilities for cultivation of the mind.

EMIGRATION AS A SYMPTOM OF SOCIAL CHANGE

In subsequent chapters we shall, as the major contribution of the present study, examine the part which emigration, among other factors, has played and is playing in the changing social situation of the region under survey. In the present context, it is important not to overlook that emigration itself, in its modern dimensions and circumstances, is one of the consequences of a revolutionary change in social attitudes. For, apart from the direct influence of geographical factors, the contact with Western ideas made possible by the early opening up of the South China ports must probably be held responsible in part for the fact that the new attitudes have emanated originally from Kwangtung and Fukien. It was here that observing thinkers first realized the difficult situation in which China found itself when, having entered into fuller trade relations with the Occident, it continued to regard its nationals abroad as outcasts.

We cannot here review the history of Chinese emigration, a subject large and important enough to deserve thorough-going study, but a few facts must be recalled to explain much that otherwise would remain difficult to understand in the recent development of migration between South China and the Nan Yang, in the relations of the emigrants to their home communities, and in the status which they occupy under foreign and under Chinese law.

THE OLDER POLICY

The maritime provinces of South China have long been in the habit, it is true, not only of trading with the countries of the Nan Yang but also of sending some of their sons out to these countries, partly to lessen pressure on the resources of the home community, and partly to give a firm basis to foreign trade relations by the settlement of nationals abroad. But at the beginning and through the greater part of the Ch'ing dynasty, emigration throughout China was still prohibited, and those who emigrated illegally were

not as a rule allowed to return to China. This prohibition in part reflects an attitude toward duty to the family and to the land which is deeply rooted in Chinese traditions; but it had been relaxed at times and became oppressive again only in modern times. As a policy of state, this prohibition may be explained on at least three grounds: (1) In the earlier period of the Ch'ing dynasty, a fairly large number of patriots left the country to continue their opposition to the Manchu regime—a phase illustrated by the well-known story of Koxinga's occupation of Formosa; (2) The defence of the sea-coast at that time became more urgent, chiefly because of the prevalence of pirates and because of the formation of bands of vagabonds who first roved through rural Fukien and Kwangtung and later, under the name of the Heaven and Earth Society, sought refuge abroad in Singapore and other parts of British Malaya and in West Borneo; (3) It was to the interest of the new rulers to reinforce the folkways and mores of the Chinese people in so far as their proverbial love of home and soil makes for stability and a high agricultural production.

For these connected, and possibly also other, reasons, the law of the Ch'ing dynasty punished "those who clandestinely emigrate or travel overseas in contravention of the regulations," with flogging, with imprisonment, and even with death.

"When officials, whether soldiers or civil servants, illegally go out to sea, to trade or to settle on islands there to live and farm, they shall be considered as conniving with rebels, and if caught shall receive the death penalty. Magistrates found conniving in such an offence on the part of others likewise shall receive the death penalty. If such offence has been committed by negligence [rather than by design], they shall be deprived of their office and never be reinstated. If the offender is head official of a circuit (Tao) or prefecture (Fu) he shall be degraded three ranks, if a viceroy he shall be degraded two ranks, if a governor one rank.

"Any official responsible for the arrest of ten illegal emigrants shall be accorded one merit toward his promotion; if of one hundred such culprits, his reward shall be promotion to the next higher rank.

"If a case of illegal emigration is known but not reported, the offending officer shall be punished as follows: if an official at the sea port, he shall be deprived of his office; if head of the circuit or prefecture, he shall be degraded three ranks; if viceroy of a province, two ranks; if governor of a province, one rank.

"Persons who leave their proper territory to gather salt shall be punished as above [i.e. as though emigrants]. When their ships clandestinely pass

through a territory and are not discovered by the officer in charge, the said officer shall be discharged from his post." ⁴³

In an imperial edict of 1712 (fifty-first year of K'ang Hsi), trade with the Nan Yang is expressly prohibited; and the Chinese government "shall request foreign governments to have those Chinese who have long been abroad repatriated so that they may be executed." Although such orders could hardly be expected to be fully enforced, they clearly show the repressive policy of the government on the subject of emigration. When Formosa had again been subjected and military necessity no longer required so rigid a suppression of foreign trade, China no longer insisted on the exclusionist policy in the matter of emigration either. Thus in 1717 (fifty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi) an imperial edict states:

"Those Fukienese who went abroad before this year are allowed to return to China under the guarantee of the owners of the ships carrying them to China and under the guarantee [presumably for their subsequent good behaviour] of their kinsmen who must register their names with the proper authorities." ⁴⁴

However, this more liberal attitude did not last long. A relapse may be noted in an edict of 1729 which re-introduced something of the old severity:

"The Emperor, believing that those who do business abroad are usually undesirable persons and that their number is likely to increase in the course of years if they are allowed freely to come and go, decrees that hereafter a date must be set for their return after which they shall not be allowed to come home."

Twenty years later, in 1749 (fourteenth year of Ch'ien Lung), a certain Chen Yi-lao, captain of the Chinese community in Batavia—that is, obviously a man of high respectability—was punished on his return to China, and his belongings were confiscated.

THE NEWER POLICY

At the close of the Opium War in 1842, China was forced in several treaties with Western powers to accept a provision according to nationals of the contracting parties the privilege to travel and reside in each other's country; in other treaties, such privilege was given by China alone and not reciprocated by the other contracting

⁴³ *Ta Tsing Lu Li* (Laws and Precedents of the Ch'ing Dynasty), Vol. 20.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

party. In the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, China and Great Britain agreed (in Article One) that "their respective subjects shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and their property within the dominions of the other."⁴⁵ In the Tientsin Treaty of 1858, signed between China and Great Britain at the conclusion of the Arrow War, China agreed (in Article 18) to protect British subjects and property in China; but no mention was made of similar protection of Chinese persons and property in British territory. In Article 5 of the Convention of Peace between China and Great Britain which was signed in 1860, it was stated that:

"as soon as the ratification of the Treaty of 1858 shall have been exchanged, His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of China, will, by decree, command the high authorities of every province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions that Chinese subjects choosing to take service in the British colonies or other parts beyond the seas are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessel at any of the open ports of China; also that the high authorities aforesaid shall, in concert with Her Britannic Majesty's representative in China, frame such regulations for the protection of Chinese, emigrating as above, as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand."⁴⁶

In the pursuance of the above article, Great Britain and France also concluded an emigration convention with China on March 5th, 1866, to regulate the employment of Chinese emigrants by French and British subjects in their respective dominions. This convention, though not ratified by either of these European powers, contains the rudiments of later treaties concerning Chinese emigrant contract labour, affecting (1) the place of employment or destination and the length of contract employment, (2) free passage for the emigrant and his family (if any) to and from the port of embarkation, (3) working hours per day, working days in the year, holidays and rest days, (4) wages, food, lodging and medical attendance, and (5) monthly remittances to the worker's family in China if desired by the contract labourer. In the declarations appended to this unratified convention, China expresses a position on the subject of emigration very different from that of a century earlier, for the first time showing solicitude for the welfare of the prospective

⁴⁵ G. E. P. Hertslet, *Treaties Between Great Britain and China, and Between China and Foreign Powers*. Third edition, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 7.

⁴⁶ G. E. P. Hertslet, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 8, p. 48.

emigrant. On the other hand, the old reluctance to lose a substantial amount of labour power to foreign countries can still be read between the lines:

"First, the Chinese Government throws no obstacle in the way of free emigration, that is to say, of the departure of Chinese subjects embarking of their own free will and at their own expense for foreign countries; but all attempts to bring Chinese under an engagement to emigrate otherwise than as the present regulations provide, are formally forbidden, and will be prosecuted with the extreme rigour of the law.

"Second, a law of the Empire punishes by death those who, by fraud or by force, may kidnap Chinese subjects for the purpose of sending them abroad against their will.

"Third, whereas the operations of emigration [recruiting] agents, with a view to supplying coolie labour abroad, are authorized at all the open ports when conducted in conformity with these regulations, and under the joint supervision of the Consuls and the Chinese authorities, it follows that where this joint supervision cannot be exercised, such operations are formally forbidden."

France and Great Britain refused to ratify this convention,⁴⁷ since it permitted Chinese emigration only under government supervision and imposed the death penalty for unauthorized and illegal emigration. The colonial developments in which these countries were interested made necessary a large supply of Chinese labour, and private agencies were doing most of the recruiting. Many of these companies, with their prevailing practices, would have been liable to punishment under this law. Toward the end of 1867, the French and British governments drafted twenty-three articles of a *Projet de Règlement International d'Emigration* which they offered to Peking as a substitute for the proposed convention. Because several of its features were unacceptable to China this document was buried in the archives of the old capital. Meanwhile, the Convention of March 5th, 1866, was proclaimed by the Chinese Government as the law of the land regulating emigration.⁴⁸

But China's international relations became more involved as time went on, and her more enlightened officials, especially those in the trade ports and in the diplomatic service, advocated specific changes

⁴⁷ Although the Netherlands ratified it in 1873, Chinese emigration to Netherlands India since 1888 has not been governed by this convention. L. H. W. Van Sandick, *Chineezen Buiten China*, M. van der Beek, the Hague, 1900, p. 19.

⁴⁸ Ta Chen, *Chinese Migrations, with Special Reference to Labour Conditions*, Bureau of Labour Statistics, U. S. Department of Labour, Washington, D.C., 1923, p. 18.

in emigration policy. In 1875, Governor Shen Pao-chin of Fukien submitted a memorial to the Throne urging the abolition of the law still on the statute book which prohibited emigration from Fukien to Formosa.⁴⁰

In 1894, in an illuminating memorial to the Emperor, describing the situation of overseas Chinese in the Nan Yang and advocating a more liberal emigration policy, Hsueh Fu-ching, Chinese Minister to Great Britain, said:

"In 1892 I urged the Government to appoint Huang Chun-shien Chinese consul general at Singapore, a proposal which was accepted. In a general report before me, Huang says that the total number of Chinese in the Nan Yang perhaps exceeds one million. Of these a small number have emigrated from Canton, Hainan, Huichow and Mei Hsien, a larger number from Swatow, Chang Chow and Chuan Chou. The people from Kwangtung, with the exception of Swatow, come and go rather freely. The emigrants from Swatow and vicinity prefer to settle in the Nan Yang for longer periods, and about one half of them become permanent residents. The Fukienese have the largest number of permanent settlers abroad, and among them, therefore, are the wealthiest merchants. Many of the last-named group have bought farm land and have brought up children there.

"During the most recent movement of emigration, many left China for the Nan Yang more than a hundred years ago, but some of their descendants still cling to Chinese traditions, such as the rites connected with weddings and funerals, and other social uses. In recent years, solicitations for poor relief or for national defence made by various provincial authorities on behalf of the Chinese Government have been patriotically responded to by certain overseas Chinese; and official ranks and honours have been freely conferred upon those who thus have given generous financial aid.

"When Chinese residing overseas plan to return to China, they sometimes undergo considerable hardships, including extortions by officials, yamen runners, and also their neighbours and kinsmen. If they are wealthy they are mistreated in various ways: often they are suspected of conniving with pirates, or as spies of foreign governments, or as agents of employers intent to kidnap people and send them away as labourers. Under such pretexts as these, their property is sometimes confiscated. Hence, some wealthy Chinese merchants return to their fatherland as British or Dutch subjects, so as to be protected. To remedy these accumulated evils, the new liberal policy should be made more widely known, and attention should be called to the abolition of the former repressive regulations.

"The emigrants from Kwangtung are largely labourers. Though they are looked down upon socially, they in a sense enjoy liberty and have

⁴⁰ Chu Shiu-p'un, *Tung Hua Luh* (Supplement for the Reign of Kuang Hsü), Shanghai, 1909, Vol. I, p. 14.

considerable savings. Their economic success is to some extent responsible for the recent prosperity in certain sea-coast villages. Among the Fukienese there are relatively more rich merchants. Since under the local traditions of Fukien they tend to be ill-used, many prefer to remain overseas, and not one in ten ever returns to China.

"By and large, the wealthy overseas Chinese still remember their mother country. Our nation has recently changed the regulation of emigration; but the change is not generally known to the emigrants; and corrupt officials and others have taken advantage of their ignorance to cause them hardship and thus to estrange their affection for China. To drive fish into other people's nets, or birds into other people's snares (says Mencius) is not a clever policy, but this is what we have been doing for England, Holland, and other countries. They get Chinese labour, and great towns spring up on their desert islands. Foreign countries thus use us as instruments for their aggrandizement. We, the while, drive Chinese skill and the profits of it into their arms."⁵⁰

Although officially China's repressive emigration policy, as deplored in the memorial just quoted, had been abrogated by an imperial decree that year, 1894, unofficially her attitude on the question had gradually changed since 1860. Further to emphasize the change in emigration policy, the Chinese Government subsequently instructed diplomatic and consular officers abroad to protect Chinese nationals under their care. Imperial envoys were occasionally sent abroad to strengthen the bonds between the mother country and the nationals overseas. Thus, Wang Yung-ho, High Commissioner of Kwangtung, was sent in 1887 (thirteenth year of Kuang Hsü), and Yang Shi-chi, of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, was sent in 1904 (thirtieth year of Kuang Hsü), both to the Nan Yang area.

The closer relations thus established between China and the Chinese overseas produced several results significant for international relations. In 1907 (thirty-third year of Kuang Hsü), the colonial Government of Netherlands India, which saw the necessity of accelerating the assimilation of Chinese under its jurisdiction, named the following conditions of assimilation: (1) ability to speak the Dutch language, (2) acquisition of a certain amount of property, (3) equal division of family inheritance between sons and daughters. Though the local Chinese had repeatedly expressed their desire to become assimilated to European culture by adopting a code of laws

⁵⁰ Hsueh Fu-chung, *Memorials to the Throne while a Minister Abroad*, Vol. 2, pp. 6-8.

similar to that of the Europeans, some of them nevertheless resisted the conditions just stated. For they believed—and still believe—that the acceptance of such conditions would drive a wedge, on the grounds of wealth and education, between them and the less educated and less propertied of their fellow countrymen in Netherlands India.

The question of assimilation is, of course, closely associated with that of nationality. In Netherlands India, the Peranakans who for the most part are born in the colony and the offspring of Chinese fathers and Malay mothers are claimed as subjects by the Netherlands Government, an interpretation which the Chinese Government has always refused to accept. The Chinese Law of Nationality of 1909, in pursuance of the *jus sanguinis* principle, proclaimed all Chinese born overseas to be Chinese subjects if their father was Chinese. Shortly after this, the Netherlands Nationality (*Nederlandsch Onderdaanshap*) Law was enacted, claiming on the principle of *jus soli* all Chinese born in the Indies as subjects of the Netherlands. A working agreement on the nationality issue was reached between China and the Netherlands in 1911 by an exchange of diplomatic notes, to the effect that a Chinese born in Dutch territory is considered a Dutch subject as long as he resides therein; that on returning to China, if a native of that country, or on entering China if born in the Indies, he becomes subject to the *jus sanguinis*, i.e. a Chinese subject; and that Chinese born in the Indies and residing in third countries are free to choose their nationality.⁵¹

Patriotism and nationalism at that time had grown considerably among the Chinese overseas, until, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, they openly supported the revolutionary movement to overthrow the Manchu monarchy. The young republic, recognizing the significant role which the overseas Chinese had played in the revolution, stipulated in the provisional Constitution of August 10th, 1912, that six senators out of a total of 274 be selected from among the Chinese overseas. Since that time, representatives of these groups have almost always attended the plenary sessions of the Kuomintang.

Since the establishment of the National Government in Nanking

⁵¹ M. T. Z. Tyau, *China's New Constitution*, pp. 35-36.

in 1927, even more cordial relations are being maintained between China and her sons abroad, and on April 16th, 1932, the Overseas Affairs Commission was set up as a permanent department of the government. In more recent years this commission has served as a sort of liaison office between the National Government and the Chinese settlements in all parts of the world.

The few pages here devoted to the changes in Chinese policy toward emigration must suffice to indicate the complex inter-relation between political and cultural change. While this study is concerned in the main with the influences of overseas Chinese on the mode of living in their native communities, it would be a mistake to under-estimate the part which changing ideas and policies in China itself have played in changing the status of the emigrants and thus making their influence effective. Further to describe the fortunes of Chinese emigrant communities in the various countries of the Pacific, however relevant to the present study, would take us outside its scope. A few of the most important facts, however, concerning the history of emigration to the Nan Yang will be found in Appendix A.⁵²

⁵² The history and present status of the Chinese communities abroad, and especially in the countries of the Nan Yang, are of an ever increasing importance for the political, economic, and cultural future of the Western Pacific. The subject is too large for adequate treatment in the present connection; the China Council and the International Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations propose to subject these communities to a series of related studies. For this reason, and for the sake of continuity of the text, it has seemed best to relegate to the appendix the most important part of the present author's contribution to this subject. *The Editor.*

CHAPTER IV

LIVELIHOOD

TYPES OF COMMUNITY

AT FIRST GLANCE the culture pattern of the region under investigation may seem homogeneous, but, as we have already seen in a previous chapter, the seeming similarity of community life even within the confines of the narrow strip of coastland in Fukien and Kwangtung covers important differences; and these differences almost always can be traced to the diverse character of the peoples' principal occupations. Often, it would be difficult to point with certainty to any particular local advantage for this rather than that source of livelihood. Even an adventitious start of an industry—such, for example, as the introduction of a style of embroidery by a mission school—or a successful experiment with a new crop or a new method on the part of a single individual or family, may produce innovations which seem to have little relation to any important general factor in the life of the community. The explanation, as in natural evolution, is that conditions happen to be favourable to the particular development in that place and at that time, so that the pioneer at once finds imitators, and a new element is added to the pattern of the community's livelihood.

Underlying this process is, of course, the assumption that local resources, whether material or social, are rich enough to permit of variation, that the skills with which individuals exploit their opportunities are complex enough to permit of experiment and invention, and that the economic structure of the community as a whole is flexible enough to permit considerable substitutions of new forms of livelihood for customary ones. These conditions unquestionably exist in the region under survey. However severe the struggle for existence, the culture is so highly developed as to make possible a circular current between changes in the pattern of livelihood, which

is primarily an economic phenomenon, and changes in the mode of living, which is primarily a social one.

The mode of living, then, is influenced on the economic side by the income which the people derive from their various occupations, and on the social side by the nature of these occupations; and both influences are basic. In the present study, three types of community are under investigation, each with a particular pattern of livelihood conditioned by the main source of income on which the majority of the inhabitants depend. Naturally, our interest will mainly centre on the emigrant communities; but in order to throw their characteristics into greater relief, comparative data will be introduced where necessary from non-emigrant communities in the vicinity and, to a lesser extent, from Chinese communities overseas.

The non-emigrant community. About sixty *li* (35 km.) to the northwest of emigrant community Z lies our non-emigrant community. Judged from the natural and socio-economic facts, the non-emigrant community may be considered a typical South Chinese farming village. The principal occupation is the cultivation of rice. This is supplemented by many subsidiary occupations, including poultry raising and fruit growing. After the harvest, men and women of the poorer classes pick fuel and burn charcoal in the mountains, for sale in the village market. This simple pattern of livelihood, which is dominated by agriculture, may be duplicated indefinitely in other parts of rural China and needs no elaborate analysis.

The emigrant community. Here the majority of the inhabitants depend for their living in part on remittances that come from members of the family who are abroad. As will presently be shown, the people in the emigrant community have a variety of occupations, but these do not yield them a sufficient income to maintain the present level of their living. To quote an experienced physician with Western training who has for many years resided in such a community:

"The children of well-to-do emigrant families are well fed and clothed. They are easy-going and usually without a definite occupation. If by mischance the family's business in the Nan Yang should go bankrupt, these people may be obliged to support themselves by begging!"

This statement is rather exaggerated, but it reflects the principal variant in the pattern of livelihood in the emigrant community, as

further described below. There are, of course, also families in the emigrant community which have no sons abroad. In these families the pattern of livelihood is by and large the same as that found in the non-emigrant community.

The overseas Chinese community. A common fact, often overlooked by writers on immigration problems, is that those who emigrate usually do so to improve their economic status. They do not simply transplant from the home country to another the accustomed standard of living of their class with all that it implies in tastes and aspirations, but are definitely intent on advancing to a higher status. To the South Chinese emigrant the surest way of reaching this goal normally is through trade, and trade thus becomes the centre of his life activities. Some young emigrants may be penniless when they leave home and must start life abroad as labourers. They tend to save as much as possible of the money they earn and in this way hope to ascend the social ladder. Almost invariably they look forward to owning a business some day on the main street of a commercial city. Although not all realize this ambition, merchants usually constitute the most important class of any Chinese community in the Nan Yang, and their economic influence on other classes, both in the place of their residence and in the home village, is admittedly preponderant. In Netherlands East India, business men of all classes form the largest occupational group in the Chinese working population; according to the 1930 census, it includes 36.6 per cent of the total—171,979 among 469,935 usefully employed.

"From this appears the great economic importance of the Chinese in the general social upbuilding of the Netherlands Indies, as a link between the small consumer of the hinterland and the small producer in remote regions on the one hand, and the foreign trade of the country on the other. In the industrial occupations the Chinese form the middle class, although among them—especially those born elsewhere—many ordinary labourers are also to be found. In all, 93,988 Chinese are engaged in industrial pursuits."⁵⁸

On a visit to Java in 1935 the writer was one day told by a Peranakan friend, a business man of outstanding experience:

"The Chinese here (i.e. both Singkehs and Peranakans) usually occupy the intermediary position in both import and export business. Perhaps nine-

⁵⁸ Volkstelling 1930, Deel VII, *Chineezen en Andere Vreemde Oosterlingen in Nederlandsch-Indie*, p. 159.

tenths of the adult male Chinese in Java are engaged in commerce. Formerly, all the retail trade was in their hands. Since the boycott of Japanese goods in China, Japanese retailers are beginning to come in here as competitors."

Similar statements are frequently heard and roughly correspond to the truth. If one may generalize from many observations, it would seem that a successful emigrant usually starts his career at scratch and becomes a merchant of at least moderate means in his old age. He may begin as a labourer or as apprentice in a retail store if he is poor, or he may start as a hawker if he has some small savings to begin with. With additional savings, he may then set up a stall on a side street. Then he rents a store. Each time he opens a new store, it is in a slightly better position than the last. Finally, he establishes a store in the business centre of a city and becomes recognized as a prominent merchant. As a typical case, the life story may here be given of a successful Chinese merchant in the Philippines, as told ten years ago to a student in the commerce department of the national university:

"I came to the Philippines in 1901, when I was fifteen years of age. I entered a drygoods store in R. where I worked as a 'newcomer'. I used to get up at five o'clock, then immediately went to the kitchen to heat some water which was to serve the master for his morning wash. Then I prepared and served him tea. After that I swept the floor, dusted the cases, and opened the store at six o'clock. My companions and I had to take our meals by turns. Being an employee of less importance, I had to take my meals at the second or third sitting, when the soup and rice were cold and sometimes the dishes were almost empty. We had hardly enough food or soup to eat with the cold rice which was as hard to swallow as iron bullets. At the store we had to attend to every minor matter, such as wrapping the goods, delivery and checking goods sold or purchased, and packing goods for shipment, besides the usual routine duties of cleaning and sweeping. In spite of my youth, I often had to carry ten or fifteen heavy pieces of cloth on my shoulder to make a delivery. Sometimes I had to walk many streets to do this.

"Among other things, I learned to sell, and gradually I began to get acquainted with our customers, with creditors and others who came to our store. I had almost no chance to learn English or Spanish. I only knew enough 'Chinese tagalog' which I learned from some of the salesmen whom I served and treated well. My salary was advanced from the zero point to five pesos a month after the first year, to ten pesos after the second year, and to fifteen after the third. Of course, I could get along with so small a salary because I had practically no expenses, as the employer supplied food, lodging,

laundry, haircuts, and practically everything else that was needed. The only expense I had was that of sending money to my parents in China. I could have no treats and could attend no shows or any sort of amusement. I was practically shut off from the outer world. It was nothing but work, and again work. We did not have Sundays off or holidays or even 'Fourth of July.' The only holiday in the whole year was Chinese New Year, which we enjoyed immensely.

"After the fourth year, I was promoted to the position of salesman, and my salary was increased to twenty-five pesos a month. I began to make more sales and gradually made more acquaintances. I learned how to speak more Tagalog and even a very little Spanish. I learned how to use the abacus. Later I was promoted to the position of buyer. My employer began to send me to the wholesale houses and large firms where I got into contact with big merchants and other prominent business men. From them, every day I learned more about business and its methods and tricks. With the better salary I now received, I was able to accumulate a reserve.

"With this reserve I invested a thousand pesos in partnership with a relative who had a business in Calle Tabora where many small stores are located. However, I did not give up my job because I could not be sure of the success of our new enterprise. My partner took charge of the new store. Everything we used here was very simple. Our first set of stands consisted of petroleum crates; and we found wooden cases a very good thing for making a counter. We did not have a desk either. In other words, we did not have any equipment, only merchandise for sale. In this way we ran our business for two years, and we found it to be successful. Of course, with the profits we gradually replaced our 'furniture' until at the end of the sixth year we had a complete store equipment.

"At the beginning of our business we employed few persons, in order to keep down our expenses and to keep selling costs as low as possible. Our men had to work twelve or fourteen hours a day. With these economies, the diligence of our employees, and above all the credit which we were able to secure through a reputation for honesty and keeping of promises, we soon jumped from our original capital investment of two thousand pesos to a big store which at present is worth about a hundred thousand pesos. Among the reasons for this success, I would place first in importance honesty.

"With the increased goodwill and the expansion of our business, we then looked for other opportunities of development. First we found a better location to make possible the expansion of our business. This is the store in R. which we still have. With new equipment, we were able to do a nice turnover. We employed more persons and greatly increased our stock. Our stock now is always complete. Our trade from that time on increased almost from day to day until, when we took our last balance sheet last year, we found that our net worth was about a million."⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Siy Ka Bio, *Chinese Retailing in Manila*. Unpublished thesis, University of the Philippines, Manila, 1924.

As to the question, how and why the Chinese in the Nan Yang become influential in commerce, a number of reasons have been suggested: that the Chinese have business acumen "by nature", that from early boyhood they receive fundamental training in business, that the social environment in the Nan Yang is in their favour. As other factors will be discussed below we shall consider here a little more fully that of the favourable social environment.

Probably the most important element in this situation is that the Chinese were the first, usually, to act as middlemen in the Nan Yang, and to enlarge the areas within which the native people—especially those in the smaller towns and villages of the hinterland—could buy and sell. Throughout the Nan Yang they have for many years occupied the liaison position between European and native in their economic dealings. The Chinese probably were from the start well adapted to play this role, but a fact which is often overlooked is that, debarred from other economic opportunities, they have been more or less forced into the channel of commerce. Under some existing laws, and in some places under a social usage reinforced by public opinion, Chinese are to this day debarred in parts of the Nan Yang region from cultivating land except under restricted conditions. Thus, the Agrarian Law of 1870 in Netherlands India protects the Adat, i.e. customary, right in land on the part of Indonesians by reserving for them the privilege of ownership, and by allowing non-Indonesians only to lease land for use on certain terms. As few European farmers desire to leave the temperate zone to become owning farmers in the tropics,⁵⁵ and as the Chinese have always constituted the great majority of Oriental foreigners, they have been more seriously affected by this law than any other non-Indonesians. Similarly, in Indo-China, "red" land cannot be alienated to foreigners; consequently few of the Chinese in the colony have become important entrepreneurs of rubber plantations. With the exception of pepper, rice, and vegetable growing, chiefly in Cambodia and Cochin-China, the Chinese there have practically no prospects of agricultural undertakings of any great economic significance.⁵⁶

Moreover, the Chinese in the Nan Yang suffer under yet another

⁵⁵ A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931, Vol. II, pp. 450-58.

⁵⁶ E. Dennergy, *Asia's Teeming Millions*; Jonathan Cape, London, 1931, p. 135.

civil disability. To this day, Chinese residents in British Malaya are not permitted to take Civil Service examinations and consequently can hold no advanced position with pay under the colonial government. Honorary positions of high rank are occasionally offered to distinguished Chinese in the colony, but the humble worker cannot rise higher than the position of clerk.

Thus, with two great avenues of employment, agriculture and public service, closed to them, it is natural that the enterprising elements in the Chinese communities of the Nan Yang have flocked to commerce as the most promising means of economic advance.

Of special importance for the subject of our study is the fact that these commercial activities are not confined to the internal trade of the Nan Yang but include considerable trade with China. In so far as that trade merely supplies Chinese residents with commodities from their home country it means little more than a natural extension of the market for the products of South China: the same people who would have consumed these goods at home, had they not emigrated, now consume them abroad. Better labour opportunities in the Nan Yang in this way make certain industries at home more profitable. But if the consumers in the Nan Yang are non-Chinese the trade confers even greater benefit on China; not only is the extension of the market for Chinese commodities even more substantially increased, but the Chinese merchants also reap, and the home community benefits from, the profit on an international trade including both Chinese and foreign products. His key position as the middleman can be used by the Chinese merchant to deflect purchases from other countries to China, and even to initiate a boycott like the recent one against Japanese imports.

According to the reports of the China Maritime Customs, China's more important exports to the countries of the Nan Yang include, among other commodities, fresh and cold-storage eggs, cured eggs, ham, lard, salted vegetables, dried fish, green peas, red peas, wheat flour, bean curd, fresh and dried fruit (lichee, lungnan, pears), cassia lignea, China root, ginseng, liquorice, rhubarb, joss paper. China's chief imports from the Nan Yang include flax, ramie, hemp, rope, cord, gunny bags, tin in ingots and slabs, seaweed, agar-agar, awabi, Bicho de Mar, Compoy, cuttle fish, shark's fin, coffee, rice, cardamoms, betel-nut, pepper, sugar, tobacco, petroleum, hardwood, sandal wood, rattan ware, and rubber.

PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD IN THE NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

After the general picture given on previous pages of the main differences in the pattern of livelihood found in the emigrant and non-emigrant sections of South China and in the Chinese communities of the Nan Yang, we now proceed to a closer examination of the differences found through the more systematic study of particular communities in Kwangtung and Fukien as between the economics of the emigrant and of the non-emigrant communities.

The non-emigrant community chosen for this study consists of two adjoining villages (M and N), with a total estimated population of 4,309 persons in 725 families. The majority of the adult males and females are gainfully employed.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS

Rice cultivation. Of the 725 families, 650 are engaged in growing rice. One hundred and thirty of these own the land they occupy, 280 own part of it, and 240 rent all the land they use. Crop sharing is the most widespread form of tenancy: the crop is usually divided equally between owner and tenant at harvest time. In normal years, village N reaps a total of about ten thousand *piculs* (605 tons) of grain, from which four or five thousand *piculs* of rice may be milled. This local product meets the need for local consumption in the village for about nine months in the year; the staple food for the remaining three months must be found elsewhere.

The farm holdings vary in size: a poor family occupies three or four *mow*, a middle-class family from eight to ten, and a well-to-do family about fifteen (1.15 hectares). Chiefly because of variations in location and fertility of soil, rice fields show great differences in price. Accessibility to irrigation facilities and remoteness from danger of flood (through high elevation) are the two principal considerations making for high values of land suitable for rice growing. The poorest field may be worth anything between \$20 and \$100 per *mow*, one having medium advantages around \$110 or \$120, and the best between \$250 and \$300. In normal years there are two harvests. The poorest rice field yields about two *piculs* of grain per *mow*, the medium one about four *piculs*, and the best five or six *piculs*.

Of the 725 families in this community, 572 were investigated in connection with the present study. In these were found 978 males and 1,035 females of fifteen years and over. The total number of children up to fourteen years of age was 1,145. The average size of families was 5.52 persons. Usually, the adult members of the family have several occupations, one of which constitutes their chief resource. On the basis of the chief occupation, the 572 families may be classified under three main categories: agriculture, 366 families; trade, 93 families; handicraft and industry, 91 families; with 22 families unascertained.

In the neighbourhood of this community there are a number of villages from which many emigrants have gone to the Nan Yang. Moreover, the community is only about 60 *li* from emigrant community Z which for many decades has been an important source of overseas migration. Therefore, we included in our questionnaire and also in many interviews with individuals the question: How is it that this community has so few emigrants abroad? The replies have been curiously uniform. As a typical answer, that of an old farmer may be quoted:

"In our village any man who is able and willing to work, who is not lazy, can easily earn a modest living as a farmer or a workman. There are enough opportunities of employment here for all. Why should any man take upon himself all the risks of sailing abroad to seek a livelihood?"

Timber. In this community a fairly large number of people are engaged in the lumber business, principally pine (*Cryptomeria japonica*, Don). There are about twenty wholesale dealers who obtain their pine logs from the upper reaches of the Han River, and let them float down in rafts to village M where they are collected. From three to seven rafts are usually in charge of a foreman who assigns one labourer to each. The labourers earn forty or fifty cents a day, and the foreman about twice that amount. Usually the dealer enters into an agreement with the foreman under which a certain amount of lumber is to reach the yard within a given time. If the time limit is kept, the foreman usually can earn a premium in addition to his agreed wage. He is likely to earn more in spring when the water is high than at other times of the year.

As soon as the rafts reach the yard in M village, the dealer has the logs piled or immediately distributed to retailers by coolie labour. The total number of lumber workers in the village is

about 2,000, including about one half of the adult men of the village. This number does not include, however, those engaged mainly in agriculture who work in the lumber yards only during the off season on the land. When business is good, workers are attracted from neighbouring villages.

Incense sticks. Bamboo rafts come down the Han River (chiefly from the bamboo groves of Mei Hsien, Feng Shun and Ta P'u) much in the same way as pine rafts. They also find their wholesale market in village M. Some of the wood, after passing through the hands of retailers, enters into the incense stick industry. The reeds are distributed to married women and girls who usually work on them in their homes during spare time. A bamboo is split into three parts: the outside greenish layer is returned to the retailer, the middle one is used to make incense sticks, and the core is kept by the worker as fuel. The split bamboo is put together in bundles; each bundle weighs four or five *catties* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 kg.). On an average, the worker finishes four or five bundles in a day. The work is paid for at piece rates, and the earnings of a girl come to about eight cents a day. If a worker fetches the bamboo from the retailer and returns the finished product, she may earn two or three cents a day extra.

The retailer dries the split bamboo and makes it up in larger bundles, of ten or twelve *catties* (6 to $7\frac{1}{4}$ kg.). The incense sticks vary in length from nine to twelve inches and are sold for between 30 and 55 cents per bundle. The greater part is sent to Chao Chou (Chao An) for local consumption or for export to Chinese settlements in the Nan Yang. There are fifty retail firms in this trade in village M, and in addition to the 350 or so girls and married women employed in their homes, it also employs more than 200 men whose earnings average about fifty cents a day.

Subsidiary occupations. In addition to some forms of supplementary income already mentioned, the farmers also engage in other side occupations to improve their income. In village N, for instance, a crop of wheat is usually planted after the harvest of rice. Every year the village reaps a total of about 700 *piculs* (42.3 tons) of wheat, worth about \$7.50 per *picul*. Some farmers use part of their land to grow vegetables. Others plant sugar canes. Among poultry, geese are fairly numerous; goose meat is considered a

table delicacy in this area, and a bird of average weight may bring the farmer the handsome price of four dollars.

Girls and married women spend part of their time in drawn-thread and embroidery work (see Chapter II) which yields a relatively large additional income. In the poor families the women also work on the farm at various processes, side by side with the men. After the busy season, many of them go into the nearby hills to gather fuel or to prepare charcoal for sale, earning about 25 cents a day.

PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD IN THE EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS

As has already been intimated, the pattern of livelihood in the emigrant community is largely determined by its reliance on home remittances of the family members abroad. Although the majority of the inhabitants also have gainful occupations, these generally are of much slighter economic importance.

Agriculture. According to a recent estimate of the village council, emigrant community Z contains 4,973 families with a total of 25,303 persons. Some 2,500, or about one-half, of the families are engaged in rice growing. Between them they cultivate nine thousand *mow*, or 3.6 *mow* (0.6 acres) per family on the average. The poorest families till one or two *mow*, those of the middle class seven or eight, and the well-to-do about ten. Owning farmers constitute about one per cent of the total number of farmers, part owners about five per cent, the others being tenants. Cropsharing tenancy here also prevails; usually from two-fifths to one-half of the crop goes to the owner, collected immediately after the harvest. Unless a natural calamity occurs, the rice fields here usually yield two crops per year. Some farmers pay a fixed rent, varying from 1.6 *piculs* per *mow* per year for the poorest land to 2 *piculs* for that of medium quality and 2.4 *piculs* for the best. This rent also is collected at the time of the harvest.

As the land is rather swampy, most of the rice fields are subject to frequent inundation, and only few are of really good quality. The market value of the poorest land is about \$120 per *mow*, that of medium-quality land about \$150, and that of the best about \$200.

The field inquiry revealed that the total production of the community is about 40,000 *piculs* (240 tons) of grain per year, enough to supply the total local need for a period of about four months. For the remainder of the year, the community relies on shipments of rice, chiefly from Wuhu, Anhwei province, supplemented by rice grown in Fukien and imported from Siam, Burma, and French Indo-China. The total inflow from all these sources is estimated to be over 10,000 bags a year (one bag containing 170 *catties*).

The land tax of 20 cents per *mow* is borne by the owner. Since 1934, a surtax of 40 per cent is added to the land tax; and in the autumn of 1935 a further increase was imposed. The new tax, of one per cent, is levied on the market value of the land.

Trade. This community is composed of seven villages and one small town, the chief trade centre of the entire neighbourhood. Most of the tradesmen live in the town. There are some 2,500 of them, constituting nearly one-tenth of the population for the whole community.

Trade attracts a great deal of interest and energy even in those families that depend mainly on agriculture for their livelihood. They usually hope that at least one or other of the boys will some day take up trade as his life occupation, and some of the parents start to train their children for a business career quite early in life. It is not uncommon to be awakened in the morning by the street cries of youngsters who, as part of their education, are sent out to sell anything the breakfast menu may require, rice cakes, wheat rolls, fresh fruit, hot tea, or coffee. In the eyes of most of the people, trade is the easiest and obvious road to success. To become a business man is the ambition of the average boy, even when the father is a capable farmer. Merely echoing what probably dozens of others would have said had they been asked, the wife in a poor emigrant household remarked in the course of an interview: "If one is interested in making money, especially big money, one should become a merchant—if possible in the Nan Yang."

To complete the picture, some attention should be paid to the occupations of emigrants before they leave their home and after they return from abroad. The former will indicate not so much the natural inclination of the individual as the tradition of the community, the status of the family, and his early training. But the occupation in which he engages after his return should clearly

show the influence of the Nan Yang. For, the experience abroad, and the prestige valuations in the foreign community—which may be quite different from those which determine status at home—are sure to affect the individual's choice in these new circumstances. We were fortunate in being able to obtain in many instances information from an individual not only about his occupation before his emigration and after his return, but also about the motives of his choice. In other cases, when at the time of the investigation the emigrant was still abroad, facts about his former and present occupations were supplied by his family.

TABLE 4.
OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS BEFORE EMIGRATION AND AFTER THEIR
RETURN FROM ABROAD, 1934-35

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Before</i>	<i>After</i>
Shop employee	206	333
Shop apprentice	7	—
Merchant	47	108
Labourer	182	315
Farmer	152	13
Fisherman	13	6
Peddler	139	76
Student	129	—
Adult seeking school opportunities	23	—
Teacher	8	6
Doctor with traditional training	1	3
Government employee	—	2
Unemployed	158	111
Unknown	19	98
	1,084	1,071

It is interesting to observe in the above table that even before emigration, if we group together merchants, shop employees, apprentices, and peddlers, more than one-third of those from whom this information has been gathered, were in one way or another engaged in trade (399 out of 1,065). From this it may be inferred that a fairly large number of the intending emigrants have a natural aptitude for trade, or at least that they receive encouragement and a rudiment of training for business before they leave home. Even

if they go to the Nan Yang without money, most of them will be expected sooner or later to go into business. To them should also be added, probably, a large number of those described as "unemployed" who may be persons waiting for the right opportunity, and probably many of the students.

For most of the emigrants, despite the prevalence of the interest in business shown in the home community, residence abroad means a change in occupation. Some are obliged to accept any kind of employment they can get, and this usually means labouring. Others are able to choose occupations, the search for which, in fact, constitutes in large part the motive for their emigration. In either case, and for the great majority, the change in occupation represents the response of the individual to the social conditions which he finds in the foreign community. If we compare the right column of the table with the left, we find that a somewhat larger proportion are in some way or other connected with trade after their return than were before, just about one-half, if again we add together shop employees (there are no apprentices among them), merchants and peddlers. This increase from about one in three to about one in two represents in the main, as we have already seen, the larger degree of opportunity which trade offers the Chinese in the Nan Yang, compared with that at home. Of special interest, however, is the perhaps surprisingly large proportion of labourers among those returned from abroad, three out of every ten. They are, of course, in part, men who were formerly engaged in farming before they went overseas and may include many of those who were labourers before, but there are among them also many who struggled to emancipate themselves from manual labour in the life overseas but were unsuccessful. The relatively large number of unemployed even more, of course, reflects a common experience during the period of world economic depression: they also had to come home, apparently, without realizing their ambition either of building up a business abroad or of saving enough to start one at home. For the future, however, the most remarkable difference between the two columns is that farming as a chosen occupation has fallen to almost the last place. The emphasis on trade in the Nan Yang certainly has still further reduced the hopes which people in this vicinity have for agriculture as a means of livelihood. This change from traditional sentiment was explained by a returned emigrant

in a village near Swatow whose family had turned from rice growing as the chief source of its income to commerce:

"My father was a rice grower in his youth. He rented the land he cultivated and in good years, after paying the rent, had enough grain left over to feed the family. But in bad years there was not enough of a crop to both pay the landlord and also meet the food needs of the family.

"At one time a relative of ours wrote from Singapore that his grocery store there needed help, and invited father to come out. Father accepted the offer and at first worked at that store. Soon he was able to open a store of his own. He became a successful business man.

"Father is fond of saying, 'A farmer lives a strenuous life and makes little money. A business man usually makes more money, especially if he has luck and is helped out by relatives or friends.'

"Five years ago, father retired from business and returned to the old village. He asked my brother and me to take charge of two grain stores, one at Swatow and the other here in the village.

"Though the family is much larger now than it was when my father was young, and has much larger expenses, we certainly are much better off."

Subsidiary occupations. About 4,000 girls and married women receive additional incomes from some handicraft or other. The girls and middle-aged women are engaged, in their spare time, in drawn-thread and embroidery work and earn about twenty cents per day per person. Others weave cloth at the small weaving shops or sew in tailor shops. These earn about thirty cents or more per day. In other words, none of these occupations is particularly remunerative.

Older women are engaged in making joss paper, as already described, and in knitting fishing nets which are mainly exported to the Nan Yang, the gross value of these exports being estimated as about \$100,000 per year. In comparison, the nets made for local use are worth only about \$20,000 a year.

The chief material used in making fishing nets, apart from the local fibres previously described (see Chapter II), is hemp which is brought from Hankow to the value of about \$15,000 a year. Some of this hemp is spun by local female labour, but more of it first goes to An Pu on the Chao Chou—Swatow Railway and is spun there. The hemp yarn shipped from An Pu to the emigrant community is worth about \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year. Another \$30,000 worth of hemp annually comes from Shanghai.

Occupations of men, other than farming and trade, absorb a

relatively small number of persons—a total of only 1,030. These include 267 loading and unloading coolies, 146 other carrying coolies, 132 barbers, 110 carpenters, 75 school teachers, 68 fishermen, 62 peddlers, 55 builders, 40 masons, 18 government employees, and 10 shipbuilders. Some of the coolies spend part of their time in a neighbouring village, loading and unloading sea cargoes that go out from there.

The twelve occupations just named are, for the most part, undertaken in addition to one of the principal occupations named before, but neither the chief occupations nor the lesser occupations yield enough income for a decent living. They are, as far as this community is concerned, definitely supplementary to the main source of family income, namely the money that comes from the emigrants who periodically share their earnings with their families left behind at home.

REMITTANCES

There has long been much speculation as regards the part played by remittances from emigrants to their families in China in that country's invisible balance of trade. No attempt will be made here to add yet another to the many conflicting estimates or to compute even the total of the money received from this source in the selected communities here under survey. For, in this study we are not concerned with the quantitative aspects of the question, but rather with its qualitative phases. We shall attempt here to give at least partial answers to such questions as these: What forces are at work in the Nan Yang to determine the rise and fall of the incomes of Chinese residents? What other forces, if any, influence the relative size of their remittances to China? What are the methods used to send money home? What are the principal uses to which remittances are being put? What are the chief social consequences of these uses?

The earnings of Chinese emigrants vary, of course, enormously. There was a time, not so many years ago, when ownership of a few rubber trees meant affluence. There have been times when Chinese importers in the Nan Yang could under-sell those of all other nationalities and still make a large profit, times when they had native peasants so under their control through indebtedness

that they could sell them almost anything at almost any price. There have been times when labour was so scarce that Chinese coolies could in a few years accumulate savings enough to start in business, times when employees of Chinese retailers overseas could force up wages to the point where it was more economical for the boss to take them in as partners. Now all that has changed: new immigration restrictions, motivated by the depression, have cut large numbers of Southern Chinese off from labour opportunities abroad, while at the same time life has, perhaps, become a little more secure in this time of general debacle for a certain privileged few—those small retail merchants, for example, who already are established in the Nan Yang and now have less competition from their countrymen and who can circumvent the new head tax on immigrants by bringing over wives and children to take the place of hired assistants.

Even more fantastic in its sharp contrasts is the curve of profit on business investments. Fluctuations in the price of silver, insecurity in South China, sudden changes in the regulation of currency, in tariffs, in the commercial policies of great nations, such as Japan, all these in the period preceding the present crisis and realignment of forces, complicated a situation in which it was already difficult enough for the individual investor to know which way to turn. With the Chinese penchant for speculation, each of these influences was further accentuated; and reversals of fortune, caused by possession or lack of acumen, must have played a large part since the onset of the world depression in determining the flow of money remittances to China.

While differences in currency exchange rates obviously influence decisions as regards the disposal of surplus overseas earnings, the reverse causal relationship also may be important. Thus the fifth issue of the Decennial Report of the Chinese Maritime Customs (1922-1931) states:

"Remittances from emigrants in Siam and the Straits Settlements have much influence on the Swatow money market. Exchange fluctuations between local currency and Hong Kong dollars ranged from 975 to 1,205 Swatow dollars for \$1,000 Hongkong currency, and the rates between local currency and Shanghai Taels 675 to Taels 745 for 1,000 Swatow dollars. Exchange rates between local dollars and foreign currencies followed the Shanghai market."

Similarly, the fluctuations between paper currency and silver are regarded by those close to South Chinese financial business as, in part, both cause and effect of emigrant remittances. One informant states:

"The silver movement in and out of the South Chinese ports may represent many things. Bullion imports may be emigrant remittances, they may be on account of a favourable interest rate, or capital for permanent investment. Silver exports may represent flight of capital because of political disorder or banditry, or remittances in payment for imports, or maintenance of a foreign credit balance.

"There is a constant shift of silver up and down the coast from these various causes, each port having its separate exchange rate or price of silver, further adding to the confusion of motives. The movement of currency rates in relation to the price of silver at any one port may be at a tangent with the general tendency in other parts of the coast.

"The fluctuations between paper and silver in Swatow have been up to 14 per cent in three months, a situation of uncertainty in which all forms of external and internal business become a sort of gamble, and trade is difficult—except in commodities traded at an enormous profit, anyhow. Every business on the China coast now-a-days (autumn, 1934) has for the time being produced a state of chaos and probably has the same effect as a high tax on essentials of living. Yet, the amount of strain which the local trade can carry is incredible. Somehow or other, business carries on, with a multitude of currencies and often worthless paper issued by local banks."

Again, the factor of political insecurity was stressed by several informants. Says an enlightened Chinese official:

"It may be true that the relatively small amounts sent by emigrants from Siam and Indo-China and Malaya, compared with the large amounts invested in the home communities in the past by those who have gone to the Americas and to Australia, may be due to the greater frequency of their remittances or to the fact of a gradual decline in the remunerativeness of Chinese ventures abroad. But the enormous decline of the remittances in the last few years can be explained with the insecurity of those parts of Kwangtung and Fukien from which most of the men have gone to the Nan Yang. Why should they send home large amounts to invest? Why should they build more roads, set up factories, or enlarge the parental farm? Their homes, for the most part, are in one of the 'areas of pacification' where large numbers of soldiers are stationed to ward off bandits and communists. The people are much richer than they seem when they come on a visit home; but they dare not show their wealth. Many of them become naturalized overseas; and those who come home often intend to stay only for a short time."

A banker of Amoy stated:

"Amoy was modernized only a few years ago, when, because of the European war and its demand for labour and commodities of many kinds, Chinese abroad had large sums to invest. In those days, interest of 10 and 12 per cent on mortgages was common. Now, building goes on simply because people have to have some revenue from the sites bought at boom prices; but many lenders are content with a mere 3 per cent. Naturally, as soon as business improves overseas, or wherever members of the Chinese community can find something better to do with their savings, remittances cease."

The same view was taken by a Chinese with considerable property, both in Fukien and in British North Borneo:

"Hardly anyone buys new property in this village, and the reason is that remittances from overseas are not large enough. Money is safer in other countries; there are no inducements for large remittances home, just now. Also, most of the families have got into the way of regarding the business overseas as the main source of their income and of putting additional capital into it when they have it. The money is not regarded as safe in any business enterprise here because there is no government protection."

Somewhat similar evidence was given by a young teacher near Amoy whose father, a dealer in native products in Cebu, P. I., helps to support some twenty relatives in the home village, remitting on their behalf from three to four thousand pesos a year. In this village, apart from a modern school building, there is no sign of prosperity, yet of the three or four hundred families all are somehow taken care of by the money coming in from Rangoon, the Philippines, Singapore, and Annam. It gave the impression of a historical community, a little run down, living its traditional simple round of the seasons; yet that village unquestionably looked with pride upon the flourishing business establishments and beautiful homes of its sons overseas, and most of the three hundred children enrolled in its school looked forward to going abroad some time or other.

One of the foreign Consuls at Amoy gave it as his estimate that about 60 per cent of the families in that region were partly dependent upon remittances from abroad for their living, even after these had fallen disastrously for the business of the region—thirty of the ninety native banks in Amoy had closed their doors during the year 1933 because of adverse business conditions. Not even a heavy fall in the value of silver in 1930 had resulted in a corresponding increase of remittances from Chinese overseas. And the reason, to quote this official, was:

"Adverse business conditions in the Straits Settlements and other countries where emigrants reside, especially in so far as they affected the earnings of Chinese labourers, and lack of opportunity to employ their money in commercial or other undertakings in the interior (of Fukien) under present unsettled conditions, resulted in the fact that there was more money in the Amoy banks than could be used."

The effect of bad business conditions overseas is, of course, reflected somewhat in the relative decline or increase of remittances from different countries—a further complication. Adverse conditions in the rubber industry and regulations of the Straits Settlements to restrict the admission of Chinese immigrants produced a heavy falling off of remittances from that British colony in 1930, while the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines had not yet felt the full force of the world depression, and remittances from these countries because of favourable exchange conditions actually increased. The previous year, 1929, remittances received in the Amoy area had been higher from all of these countries as compared with 1928, a recovery from a fall in the total remittances from these countries in 1928 as compared with 1927. Thus, each year the rise or fall in the amount of money received from overseas may have its main explanation in a change of conditions at home, or in any one or more of a number of diverse factors which separately affect the prosperity of emigrants in the different foreign countries. The number of persons abroad is only one of the factors, as we have seen, but its rise and fall tends somewhat to reflect the general trend of business; hence lessened remittances caused by a lessening in the number of Chinese abroad are accentuated by lessened returns from business ventures in which the whole family may have a share.

The best informed authorities on financial and business trends hesitate to estimate either the total amount of remittances to China ascribable to Chinese enterprise abroad or the amount of such remittances in the total money payments received in any particular port or region. Trade and other cash transactions are too closely bound together to make possible a clear statistical separation.

Then there is the question whether money banked in Hong Kong by Chinese residents in Malaya, Netherlands India, the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, and other foreign countries should be regarded as invested in foreign enterprise or simply as held for home use.

A Hong Kong bank is often merely chosen instead of a bank near the emigrant's home community for greater security. A realistic description of this whole process would not rank Hong Kong, although it is under a foreign flag, with the foreign countries where Chinese money is invested, but rather with the foreign settlements and concessions in China. For, these funds do not normally feed enterprise abroad but are in the nature of cash reserves for consumption and enterprise in China. But even so, they are mixed in with other accounts which mainly serve the purpose of financing China's foreign trade, and to estimate the cash reserves held or annually accumulated in Hong Kong for future investment in China is impossible.

Hence, any estimate given out of the total amount of remittances received in South China from abroad or from any part of the Nan Yang, as representing savings of Chinese overseas for use at home, must be regarded with scepticism. A Chinese banker in Hong Kong gave it as his opinion (in 1935) that about 80 per cent of remittances from Chinese overseas to their home communities were passing through the banks of that colony, and that these remittances had fallen by two-thirds in the previous two years. He did not, however, attempt to indicate to what extent this reflected simply a decrease in the foreign trade of South China, or the adoption of new forms of investment by overseas Chinese, or the effect of smaller returns on Chinese business abroad.

Then, too, it should be pointed out that, with many different remitting agencies competing for business, there is no clear-cut line of demarcation for their activities: the same remittance may be handled by more than one agency and thus be counted more than once in the ordinary attempts to estimate the total. As will further be described later individual remittances of small amounts usually go through "letter offices" which, after waiting for large accumulations, may, in addition to their own channel, also send lump sums through the post office or through a modern bank, thus causing statistical confusion. No one can give a reasonably accurate estimate of just how much business in the total remittances is taken by each of the remitting agencies—the letter offices, the Post Office, and the modern banks.

Methods of remitting money. About sixty years ago, the wealthy emigrants in the Nan Yang usually relied on relatives or friends to

take money home for them on their return trips to China. Shrewd persons saw the prospect of a profitable business in rendering this service and soon became engaged in the specialized activity of home remittance agencies. In addition to charging a small fee for the transmission of money, these agents usually also carried on an export and import business between some port in the Nan Yang and some region or port in South China. It is said that at times the money entrusted to them for transmission has served to capitalize their own ventures; but no one seems to know to what extent this has been done or has even been possible.

As Chinese emigrants in the Nan Yang became more numerous, their remittances were more than the agents could attend to. Thus the "letter offices" came into existence. To this day, they are still the most popular channels for the transmission of the smaller amounts. Such a letter office usually is a department of a bank or of a large firm that has its headquarters in an important city in the Nan Yang and a number of branches both in the Nan Yang and in South China, near the home villages of large numbers of emigrants. If an emigrant decides to remit money from Singapore to Swatow, he goes to the head office of the Letter Office in Singapore and hands over a sum of money for which a receipt is issued. He leaves at the office his name, address, and occupation, as well as certain details about his original family in or near Swatow. If he is able to write he also leaves a letter to go with the remittance; if he is illiterate the letter is written for him by a clerk in the office. Whatever other communication the letter contains, it always mentions the amount of the remittance. This may also be stated on the outside of the envelope if the letter is sealed before being handed in.

The head office converts the remittance from the foreign money into Chinese currency and transmits it to China, together with other such remittances. While waiting for the remittances to accumulate, the Letter Office profits from interest on the capital which may be lent out on short terms, and sometimes from fluctuations in the rate of exchange if the actual transfer to China can be well timed; such profits are, of course, in addition to the nominal fee charged for handling the remittance. If the Letter Office is the branch of a larger business concern it may convert the money received into commodities and make a profit on their export to

China. This type of business, particularly trade in rice, has at times been in extensive use in transferring remittances to Swatow.

When the money reaches that city (or the consignment has been sold in that port), the branch office there will assign a clerk to distribute the remittances to the emigrants' families, according to the list furnished by the head office in Singapore. The clerk gives the emigrant's letter to the family together with the money. To the back of the letter is attached a small envelope containing a slip of paper which serves both as a receipt and as a reply from the family to the sender in Singapore. If nobody in the family is able to write, the reply is written by the clerk or some one at the branch office in Swatow. This communication, together with the receipt, is eventually delivered to the sender of the remittance in Singapore and concludes the transaction.

The number of letter offices has fluctuated for various reasons. According to the latest information there are 153 large ones in Amoy and 32 in other cities, making a total of 185 for Fukien. In Swatow there are 66 large letter offices, and there are 27 in other cities of Kwangtung, making a total of 93 for the province.

Before 1927, when the head office in Singapore collected all the immigrants' "letters" containing remittances from that city, these were put into a big package which was sent through the post office and charged for by weight. This was said to be in contravention of certain stipulations of the International Postal Conventions, and in 1927, therefore, Netherlands India, the Philippines and French Indo-China abolished that procedure and required, instead, that each separate letter must carry sufficient postage in accordance with the law of the country. Since April 1st, 1930, following the same principle, British Malaya collects six local cents for each such letter, representing one-half of its normal international postage rate of twelve cents. One month later, the Chinese Post Office followed Malaya's example by collecting five local cents on every letter, or one-half of its normal international postage rate of ten cents. As gold centimes advanced in price, this postage was later increased to 12.5 Chinese cents.

The post offices in South China, especially in the cities near emigration centres, have done considerable business in handling emigrant mail in connection with emigrant remittances, but exactly how many letters of this character have gone through a local post

office in a given period cannot be ascertained. The following information, though fragmentary, throws some light on this question. At the Amoy Post Office the number of letters to the Nan Yang handled in two weeks of August, 1929, was about 40,000. At the Swatow Post Office the total number of letters to the Nan Yang in December, 1930, was 108,392. In recent years the number of letters concerning remittances has, because of the world depression, shown a decrease. In Swatow, for example, only 831,709 such letters were reported for the whole year 1932; this probably represented a decrease of one-third compared with the normal flow of letters in a year preceding the depression.

Character of the senders. The fluctuations in the number of remittances are influenced not only by the factors already indicated, but also by the connections, status and occupations of the emigrants in different countries of the Nan Yang who send money home to their relatives. Generally speaking, those emigrants who still have kinsmen in the home community, or who have business connections with China, or who have any contacts whatever with friends or relatives in the home country may be assumed to be among those who occasionally send money to China. By and large, they are people who have not been away from China for any great length of time; they now and then correspond with home folks or pay them a visit. Labourers or peddlers, after defraying their modest living expenses in the Nan Yang, almost invariably send small sums home periodically from the surplus savings for the partial support of their parents, or wives and children. Well-to-do business men may remit money for a larger variety of purposes: for family use, to buy goods in China for sale in the Nan Yang, for their business partners as their share in the profits, for safe keeping as deposits, or for capital investment at home.

Most of the senders are, strictly speaking, emigrants. Of the foreign-born Chinese who as a rule have no intimate contacts in China, few, if any remit under ordinary circumstances money to the country of their ancestors. Everywhere in the Nan Yang, the locally born Chinese are numerous; and they are, because of longer residence and richer experience, relatively wealthier than the immigrants. Proportionally, there are of course more substantial merchants among the foreign-born Chinese than among the emigrants. Since very few of them ever remit money to China,

except in the course of business or for patriotic and other social purposes, it seems reasonable to surmise that the estimates often made of huge overseas remittances are exaggerated if regarded as contributions to the livelihood of the home communities in China, without allowing for the other possible purposes which must loom so much more largely in the concerns of those long established overseas.

Reliance on remittances from overseas in emigrant communities. Several of the questions asked in the questionnaire addressed in our inquiry to emigrant families bear on the amount of money periodically received by the family from the Nan Yang as well as its disposal. In this connection it has been our experience that the replies could only be regarded as fairly reliable in the case of the poorer classes. The poor people had nothing to lose by telling strangers the truth and, indeed, sometimes may have expected that financial aid might be forthcoming if the true state of their poverty was revealed. With the poor families, verification moreover was a fairly simple matter because the remittance was usually small and regular, and there was often no other visible source of family income. In the families of the middle and upper classes, fear that the inquiry might be the preliminary for a new tax imposition or some other financial burden was so general that they usually understated the number or amounts of remittances received from overseas.

Without trying, therefore, to estimate the total amount of remittances received in any locality or family, the present investigation has been focussed instead on trying to ascertain the degree to which an emigrant family relies on the overseas remittances. To this end, a sample study was made of the incomes and expenditures of one hundred emigrant families selected in community Z on the basis of the economic and social status of the families previously interviewed. The findings are shown in Table 5. From this table and from the fact, noted elsewhere, that the local food supply in Z suffices to meet the consumer needs of the community for only about four months of the year, we are reasonably certain of the great importance which the remittances occupy in the budget of emigrant families. In this connection, the opinion of a prominent member of the local Chamber of Commerce may be worth quoting:

"Commodities for daily use are being shipped, load after load, to emigrant community Z for ordinary consumption. The community has nothing to export of a corresponding financial value. In recent years, it has exported a

TABLE 5. SOURCES OF INCOME OF 100 EMIGRANT FAMILIES
(October 1934 to September 1935)

Monthly Income per Family	Number of Families	Average Monthly Remittance from the Nan Yang per Family		Average Monthly Local Income per Family		Average Total Monthly Income per Family
		\$	Per cent	\$	Per cent	
Below \$20.00	17	11.40	75.5	3.70	24.5	15.10
\$20.00 to \$49.00	49	25.70	80.6	6.20	19.4	31.90
\$50.00 to \$124.00	21	68.10	78.6	18.50	21.4	86.60
\$125.00 to \$250.00	13	192.60	84.1	36.30	15.9	228.90
	100	53.90	81.4	12.30	18.6	66.20

rather large quantity of fish nets to the Nan Yang, but not all the raw material used in the manufacture of the nets is locally produced; so even in this case the chief source of income is derived from the application of labour which is rather small in relation to the total value. If remittances from the Nan Yang should for any reason decline the livelihood of a large number of families here would be seriously endangered."

Principal uses of the remittances. As stated elsewhere, the contributions of the overseas Chinese to their families and to the life of their home communities in South China cannot be reckoned either in purely economic terms or in purely cultural ones. Money and ideas about the spending of money flow together through the same channel. In a number of ways the material contributions and the intellectual contributions are intertwined. For example, when an emigrant sends money toward the building of a bus line, he promotes or endorses at the same time a project of importance to the community and, therefore, enriches his compatriots at home not only with what his money can buy, but also with his tastes, ideas, and aspirations.

Normally a remittance is not for a single purpose but for a combination of purposes. Some of the more important uses will be briefly examined in subsequent chapters. There is neither a definite rule nor a traditional order in the sequence of the uses to which the money is put by the family. By and large, personal and physiological needs naturally come first; and the elementary needs for food, clothing and shelter are satisfied before others can be considered. From these claims a large variety of others diverge: in one family fitting expenditure on the marriage of a member may overshadow other claims; in another it may be the building of a new home; in yet others a large part of what is left over after elementary needs have been met may be frittered away on comforts and luxuries that add little to the social status and do not improve the household's ability to deal with the recurring problems and crises of life. Generally, however, consideration of the more elementary needs is followed by that of certain social needs, such as the education of the children or of some of them, health and security—both for the individual home and for the community. Lastly, there are spiritual needs which must be satisfied to ensure the successful adaptation of human beings to their environment, and a not negligible part of the surplus may be spent on the

eneration of ancestors, on the fulfilment of religious vows, and the like.

In short, the remittances contribute an important part of the means available for all the various purposes which such a family may have. When it comes to the question who decides to what particular uses the sum of money received shall be put, the answer undoubtedly is that as a rule the head of the family has that power. Nevertheless, the emigrant member of the family who earns and transmits the money usually makes his influence felt, particularly when it comes to the more important types of expenditure, and this influence is exerted either through a letter accompanying or announcing the remittance, through an oral message sent by a friend, or, less often, through a personal visit home. A Chinese social worker observes on this point:

"When a son abroad earns substantial sums of money and sends them home, the father's attitude toward him is likely to depart somewhat from that customary in China. He will respect the wishes of the absent member of the family as to the ways in which the money is to be spent. He may even, against his own idea as to relative importance, spend money on the repair of the home when he would rather spend it on the purchase of a field, or he may send another child to school even though he does not think much of the value of schooling. He will be afraid that disregard for the absent son's wishes may somehow endanger or lessen the handsome flow of notes and silver, the greater part of which is spent, of course, on purposes that meet not only his own desires but also gain the hearty approval of the whole family circle."

CHAPTER V

FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER

THE SAMPLE household budgets collected to illustrate the extent to which families in the emigrant communities depend on remittances from overseas for their living also permit some insight into the relative importance attached in these households to various items of expenditure. We shall in this chapter concern ourselves more especially with the more essential outlays: those on food, clothing, and shelter, leaving for later discussion the lesser and more miscellaneous elements in the cost of living.

Judged by local standards, the 100 emigrant families selected for this study in emigrant community Z fall into four social classes, 13 in the upper, 21 in the middle, 49 in the lower, and 17 in the poor class. As already mentioned a similar group was selected for comparison in a neighbouring non-emigrant community, though here, because of a different composition of the population, the number of households included under each category was necessarily different, namely 9 in the upper, 16 in the middle, 23 in the lower, and 52 in the poor class.⁵⁷

In the 100 emigrant families there were, in 1934-35, 626 persons, of whom 150 were then residing in the Nan Yang. Geographically these were distributed as follows: 101 in Siam, 27 in Singapore, 21 in French Indo-China, 1 in Pontianak, West Borneo. Two out of three of those now away from home have gone to Siam because for this community Siam has been a preferred destination during the last century or so.

As to the previous occupations of these 150 emigrants, trade claimed a majority with 81—if in this term we include 21 shop owners, 21 book-keepers, 14 peddlers, 13 managers, 5 stall owners, and 3 managers of fish markets. Labourers come next with 56

⁵⁷ The conditions which have determined the selection of the emigrant and non-emigrant communities have been described in the Introduction, p. 5 et. seq.

persons who are followed in number by 13 designated as being unemployed.

FAMILY INCOME

SOURCES AND AMOUNTS OF INCOME

The information about the sources of income in the non-emigrant families will help to correct an impression widely held about Chinese farm economy: the farmer does not, as is popularly believed, derive his income from a single source but from several. Of the 100 non-emigrant families included in this sample study, only eight have what might be called a single occupation, 58 have two, 33 have three, and one has four occupations. Farming, however, is still the main source of income for all these families. Of the 92 families whose main bread-winners have more than one occupation, only one, that of an unskilled labourer, possibly may have no relation to agriculture. Moreover, the side occupations usually are very closely connected with farming. The monthly income averages \$10.90 for the poor family, \$18.14 for the lower class, \$28.06 for the middle class, and \$54.68 for the upper class. The average monthly income for all the 100 families, \$19.25, has no particular social meaning.

In contrast, the main source of income for the selected 100 families in community Z, with members abroad, is the receipt of remittances from these members, amounting on an average to \$53.90 per family per month, or 81.4 per cent of the total income.

Although there are, of course, variations also in the incomes of the emigrant families, large enough to distinguish different social classes among them, the economic importance of the overseas remittances in their budgets overshadows any local factors influencing their respective status, and the emigrant families as such stand economically in strong contrast with the non-emigrant families for the average monthly income of these emigrant families is more than three times that of the non-emigrant ones in the neighbouring community. The contrast is even greater when the comparison is made class by class, and this in recognition of the entirely different proportions of the different income groups in the total population. The poor emigrant family has an average monthly income of \$15.10, the lower class \$31.90, the middle class \$86.60, and the upper class \$228.90. Though one must not make too much of these figures, it would appear that the difference in

income as between emigrant and non-emigrant households rises with each income group and is greatest as between the most affluent in each of the respective communities.

Some interest attaches to the status of the emigrants who make periodical remittances to their homes in South China. It does not by any means average very high, measured by Western standards. Though there may be more than one member of the family abroad, the information given in Table 6 refers to the one with whom the family is in correspondence. Of the 100 emigrants, only 18, apparently, are in business of their own, unless one were to add to these the 10 peddlers who hope independently to build up a business. No less than 38 are labourers. However, if we group together all those engaged in business, including employees, we find that more than one-half of those who contribute to the incomes of the 100 emigrant families belong to this class. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that no less than 38 of the 100 men able to make such contributions to their families are only labourers. That this information may probably be taken at its face value is shown by the frequently very small amounts of their remittances.

TABLE 6. OCCUPATIONS OF HOME-REMITTING EMIGRANTS
(October 1934—September 1935)

	Monthly income per family (Ch. dollars)				
	Less than \$20	\$20-49	\$50-124	\$125-250	Total
Labourer	23	15	—	—	38
Peddler	1	8	1	—	10
Bookkeeper	4	8	2	—	14
Shop manager	—	4	5	—	9
Shop proprietor	—	2	10	6	18
Two occupations	1	6	3	1	11
Total	29	43	21	7	100

SURPLUS OR DEFICIT

In estimating whether during the year under observation there has been a surplus or a deficit in the household budgets under examination, nothing is allowed for rent. For, all the non-emigrant

families own their homes, and of the emigrant families all but nine. To avoid complications, this estimate does not take account either, as is usually done, of food grown in the gardens of these families or of fuel picked up by members of the families. These items probably are somewhat larger among the non-emigrant than among the emigrant households.

As will be seen from Table 7, the emigrant families of all classes have a surplus. The non-emigrant families also have a surplus in all but the poorest income group, but the amounts of the surplus are very much smaller.

TABLE 7. MONTHLY SURPLUS OR DEFICIT OF EMIGRANT AND NON-EMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

Monthly Income per family (Ch. dollars)	Number of families	Monthly surplus or deficit per family (Ch. dollars)
<i>100 Emigrant households, October 1934—September 1935</i>		
Less than \$20	17	+ 0.22
\$20 to \$49	49	+ 6.08
\$50 to \$124	21	+ 12.12
\$125 to \$250	13	+ 47.70
Total	100	+ 11.76
<i>100 Non-emigrant households, March 1935—February 1936</i>		
Less than \$15	52	— 0.83
\$15 to \$24	23	+ 0.69
\$25 to \$34	16	+ 4.06
\$35 to \$80	9	+ 21.40
Total	100	+ 2.30

FAMILY EXPENDITURE: FOOD

FOOD CONSUMPTION IN THE EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

Table 8 indicates the principal foods consumed in the 100 emigrant family households subjected to the special budget study in 1934-35. Irrespectively of the social status of these families, it indicates the number of households in this group into whose diet particular articles of food have entered in the course of a winter and a summer month: January and July, 1935. Only those food items are listed in the Table which were found to have been

TABLE 8. PRINCIPAL FOODS CONSUMED BY 100 EMIGRANT FAMILIES

Article of diet	Number of families	
	January, 1935	July, 1935
<i>Grains</i>		
Rice, local	67	65
mill grade A	39	—
mill grade B	31	—
Fukien	35	25
Annam	—	35
<i>Vegetables</i>		
Cabbage (a)	99	65
Kale (b)	87	85
Spinach	84	—
Onion	82	—
Leek	—	53
Bean sprouts	56	51
Bean curd	27	—
Ung Tsoi (c)	—	95
Cowpea (d)	—	59
Bamboo shoots	—	57
<i>Meat and fish</i>		
Pork	68	73
Pork, ready cooked	—	28
Noble fish (e)	57	—
Croaker (f)	50	—
Silvery anchovy (g)	37	31
Shark (h)	37	—
Grass carp (i)	29	39
Bocona (j)	26	—
Eel (k)	—	57
Shell fish (small)	—	44
Shrimp	—	43
Perch (l)	—	42
Sand shrimp	—	37

(a) *Brassica chinensis* L.(b) *Brassica alboglabra* Bailey(c) *Ipomaea reptans* L. Poiret(d) *Vigna sinensis* (L.) Savi ex Hassk.(e) *Aristichthys nobilis* (Richardson)(f) *Pseudoscioena manchrica* (J. & T.)(g) *Stolephorus chinensis* (Guenther)(h) *Scoliodon* and *Eulamia*(i) *Ctenopharyngodon idellus* (Cuv. & Val.)(j) *Setipinna lighte* (Wu)(k) *Muraena japonica* (Schlegel)(l) *Lateolabrax japonica* (Schlegel)

consumed in these months by at least 25, or one-fourth, of the families covered by the investigation.

The local rice referred to in the Table refers to rice produced in Kwangtung province, but not necessarily in the emigrant community. The residents prefer the local rice, both because of its flavour and because of its low price. Mill grade A is a smaller grain and inferior in milling qualities. Grades A and B both refer to rice imported from French Indo-China and Siam.

Among the vegetables, Chinese spinach was formerly grown in winter. Now vegetable gardeners bring it to the market in late autumn to meet an increased demand. Chinese kale—Borecole (*Brassica oleracea* L.) or Kai Lan Tsai—has rather large and round leaves, long stem, and is abundant in the winter months. Ying Tsai is generally grown in shallow water. This and water cress are considered the two most popular vegetables in summer. The people of the Swatow region are fond of salted vegetables (often Chieh Tsai) which are usually taken together with the rice porridge. Sometimes the salted vegetables are of the leaf mustard variety (*Brassica juncea* (L.) Cossm.) which not only supplies the daily needs of the common people but is also exported in considerable quantities to enrich the diet of kinsmen, friends, and neighbours in the Nan Yang. The local diet also makes good use of a kind of black olive which is not eatable when raw but is usually halved and salted or pickled, to be eaten with congee or boiled rice. These black olives also are salted for export.

With the nearness of the area to the sea, it is not surprising that the residents eat large amounts of sea food: fish, shrimp, lobster, and various kinds of bivalves. Fishing junks go out to sea often in fleets, equipped to catch different fish at different seasons.

Cooked pork is usually on sale in the market place and is often bought by the poorer households, principally to save the cost of cooking at home. This also would explain why it is bought more often in summer than in winter.

Food consumption in a few selected emigrant households. To illustrate the diet in typical households of the different classes of the population, a few details may here be in place. The food habits of the upper and middle classes are, on the whole, similar, except that the former naturally will spend more on food, and that their wives and daughters seldom do the cooking themselves.

The poorer families eat a boiled rice porridge three times a day, in order to save on the more expensive foods that usually go with rice when prepared in other ways. The upper and middle-class families take congee in the morning and steamed rice as the main dish at the other two meals.

Case I, family No. 11, upper class: Locally grown rice is the staple food in this household which receives it largely as rent from its tenants. Some food, such as salted black olives, salted Chieh Tsai leaves, preserved bean curd, and cured turnip—from the family's own vegetable garden—is prepared at home. The wives, girls and servants all take part at times in the preparation of these foods. The family uses meat and fish rather liberally, more especially on holidays and when entertaining guests. In connection with religious observances, such as ancestor worship, sacrifices of food (fowl, marine products, etc.) are first offered during the ceremony, but afterwards cooked and eaten by the family. In the case of social entertainment, a feast is usually prepared at home in the traditional manner, including at least four main dishes and two soups in addition to numerous side dishes. On special occasions, the preparation of such a meal is too much for the cook, and either the whole meal or certain dishes are ordered from a restaurant.

Case II, family No. 71, middle class: Here also the principal grain used is locally grown rice, but it is of an inferior quality and not well milled. This staple is supplemented with potatoes. Since the family owns only a small farm, it buys both its rice and its potatoes in the town market. Vegetables are supplied by local truck gardeners at reasonable prices. Meat is eaten sparingly, during festivals and on special occasions. The family is reported to have refrained during the year from all social entertainment, such as visiting and entertaining relatives and friends, and may not, therefore, be altogether typical.

Case III, family No. 44, lower class: Inferior rice is bought in the local market. Fresh and salted vegetables are the principal additional articles of diet. Fish is occasionally eaten, meat practically never. Except for special occasions, or when members of the household are engaged in unusually heavy physical labour, three meals of boiled rice porridge are usually served. Boiled rice not only costs relatively little in itself, but requires no other main

dish to go with it, so that other food that comes on the table is usually little more than side dishes served to help flavour the rice. The head of this family is a woman who seldom invites relatives or friends to dine at her house and thus saves money on food.

Case IV, family No. 79, poor class: The staple food is rice of poor quality. Fresh vegetables are bought, salted vegetables are prepared at home. On occasions of ancestor rites, a catty or two of pork is included in the menu, but otherwise meat and fish are seldom eaten. The three daily meals all have boiled rice for their mainstay.

FOOD CONSUMPTION IN THE CHINESE EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES OVERSEAS

Chinese residents in the Nan Yang who have been born there and belong to the circles of higher social and economic status are fairly Europeanized in their food habits. It is true the chief ingredients of their diet still are Chinese, as shown by their preference for rice and pork, but in the methods of preparing and serving food noticeable changes may be seen, including also the widespread use of knives and forks. In the Peranakan families, chop sticks have almost disappeared from the dinner table. Steamed rice is eaten with a spoon.

Vegetables are usually grown by Chinese truck gardeners wherever a Chinese settlement is of sufficient size to warrant such enterprise. Canned foods are imported from China in quantities large enough to supply the demands of the Chinese consumers. Concerning the diet of the Chinese in Java a competent observer writes:

"Most of the Chinese families eat three times, some only twice, a day. Although eating is not as regular as in European households, there is much punctuality about meal times, usually 7 a.m., noon, and 7 p.m. In households with only two meals a day, these are usually served at 8.30 in the morning and at 5.30 in the evening.

"Generally speaking, the Chinese like to eat well, though some of their dishes would not tempt us. Their main food in Netherlands India is rice—for the Singkehs a rice porridge—boiled in water. The number and variety of condiments and side dishes depends on the prosperity of the family and the value it places on a good cuisine. Pork is popular; the kidney, heart, liver and intestines of the pig also are used. Other meats are chicken, duck, rabbit, fish—both fresh and dried—and shark's fins.

"The Chinese are fond of greens of which, in proportion to the main dish, they eat a great deal. When they do not grow vegetables themselves, as is

the case in many parts of Netherlands India, they depend on the Indian market which, however, is poor in green vegetables.

"Many of the dishes are flavoured with leek. Other Chinese dishes are: bah-mi, made of uit mi, a sort of vermicelli, pork, eggs, shrimps, greens, onions, soya, and mushrooms, a dish liked by Europeans and very popular with the Chinese. Kimlo is also eaten as a soup . . . From China are imported dried fish and preserved egg, dried frogs, and dried shrimp.

"In large families, all the men eat first, then women and children separately. There is not much appreciation for social table talk.

"Tea is usually taken with the meal, served without sugar or milk. The men often take a little white arak. Tea is served in Chinese cups which have a small lid but no handles or saucers. Some have acquired the habit of drinking tea from glasses or European cups.

"In many homes, what is left over of a meal is thrown away; and each meal is cooked afresh. In these homes it is regarded as a lazy habit in Batavia to cook rice in the morning enough for the whole day."⁵⁸

Through continued residence over many years, the Chinese in the Nan Yang have cultivated a taste for cold drinks such as iced coffee and orange squash. This is rather a remarkable change in food habits, as among the Chinese in rural Fukien and Kwangtung hot dishes and drinks are universally preferred. When the emigrants return to China, they often introduce cold drinks in the cities and small towns and thus popularize a new habit among their compatriots.

FOOD CONSUMPTION IN THE NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

The analysis of principal expenditures in 100 households each of the emigrant and of the non-emigrant community chosen for the special study of family budgets (see Table 9), shows that on an average the non-emigrant family spends \$11.04 per month on food, almost two-thirds of the total expenditure. The comparative figure for the emigrant households is three times as high, \$32.67 per month; nevertheless its proportion in the total household expenditure is slightly less—60.1 as against 65.1 per cent. This is, perhaps, the strongest proof that could be adduced to show that, on the whole, the emigrant family has a much higher plane of living. However, these figures merely offer clues, since the averages for selected groups offer no absolute evidence, especially when we know these groups to be differently composed.

⁵⁸ J. Moermann, Jr., *In en Om de Chineesche Kamp*; Landsdrukkery, Weltevreden, Batavia, 1929, pp. 123-4.

TABLE 9. COST OF LIVING FOR SELECTED HOUSEHOLDS IN EMIGRANT AND NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Monthly Income per family (Ch. dollars)	No. of families	Monthly expenditure per family (Chinese dollars)						Total			
		Food	Clothing	Light and Fuel	Miscel- laneous						
<i>Expenditures of 100 Emigrant families, October 1934—September 1935*</i>											
Less than \$20	17	\$ 10.38	% 69.8	\$ 0.86	% 5.8	\$ 2.15	% 14.4	\$ 1.49	% 10.0	\$ 14.88	% 100.0
\$ 20 to \$ 49	49	16.96	65.7	1.76	6.8	3.42	13.2	3.68	14.3	25.82	100.0
\$ 50 to \$124	21	47.44	63.7	4.40	5.9	6.26	8.4	16.38	22.0	74.48	100.0
\$125 to \$250	13	97.20	53.6	7.13	4.0	12.96	7.1	63.91	35.3	181.20	100.0
Total	100	32.67	60.1	2.86	5.2	5.04	9.3	13.80	25.4	54.37	100.0
<i>Expenditures of 100 Non-emigrant families, March 1935—February 1936*†</i>											
Less than \$15	52	\$ 8.05	% 68.6	\$ 0.80	% 6.8	\$ 0.35	% 3.0	\$ 2.53	% 21.6	\$ 11.73	% 100.0
\$15 to \$24	23	11.55	66.2	1.10	6.3	0.55	3.1	4.25	24.4	17.45	100.0
\$25 to \$34	16	15.10	62.9	1.75	7.3	0.72	3.0	6.43	26.8	24.00	100.0
\$35 to \$80	9	19.81	59.5	3.52	10.6	1.14	3.4	8.81	26.5	33.28	100.0
Total	100	11.04	65.1	1.27	7.5	0.53	3.1	4.11	24.3	16.95	100.0

* As explained in the text, rent for the house, or its equivalent, is not included.

† Garden produce and fuel gathered by members of the household, or its equivalent, is not included.

If we compare only the average figures for members of the same economic class in the two communities, we find that the proportion of their income spent on food is not very different in the case of the poor (almost seven out of every ten dollars!), while the difference—both in actual amount and in proportion of total expenditure—is greatest for the well-to-do. It is almost incredible that the wealthier householder who gets a contribution from overseas toward his living expenses should spend five times as much on food as the householder who does not but in this the figures are probably correct—and the possession of vegetable gardens by the non-emigrant families is not the chief explanation. It is more likely to be that in the case of the lower class households (not the very poorest) which spend six times as much on food, on the average, when they receive money from abroad than when they do not, though here the comparison is slightly vitiated by the fact that for this group a considerably higher average income has been assumed in the case of the emigrant as compared with the non-emigrant group; so that the contrast may not be quite as sharp.

With his greater buying power, the householder in the emigrant community probably can buy all the kinds of vegetables which the householder of his class grows himself in the non-emigrant community, twenty miles away. Since he is also able to procure many delicacies brought from a distance and the more expensive products of the vicinity, it is clear that by comparison the non-emigrant family suffers not only in the matter of a less ample and nourishing diet, but also that of a less varied one.

Changes in food habits. It is not to be expected that the non-emigrant community has been entirely unaffected by the changes in consumer habits introduced in the region generally through its foreign contacts. These changes, however, are necessarily slow in the community without the personal influence of returned emigrants; and we shall here devote a few paragraphs to the changes in food habits observable in the emigrant community where they are much more pronounced.

Some such changes have long been observed in Swatow and its vicinity. To some extent they can be attributed to the natural modification of folkways as a result of urbanization and other internal local changes: in the main they are due to the changed tastes of returned emigrants.

"In this community, both old and young are fond of sugar cane and bananas. Leaves of the *celosia argentea* and areca catechu they seem never to take out of their mouths. When a relative or friend calls, the guest does not feel offended if he is not offered wine or food; but if betel nut (from areca catechu) is not offered him he considers himself to be treated with discourtesy.

"Most dishes have for one of their ingredients some aquatic product: raw oysters, raw fish and raw prawns are considered the best delicacies. Local custom makes it preferable to cook fish without first washing off the blood, and to eat frogs with their skin."⁵⁹

The chewing of betel nut, here mentioned, is freely indulged in by the natives of the Nan Yang, as they believe it to be good for the stomach and for the teeth. It is a product of the areca palm. To facilitate chewing and to give a pungent taste, the crushed nut is often wrapped in *celosia* leaves. Many of the Chinese in the Nan Yang, especially the long-time residents, have through association with the Malays acquired this habit of areca chewing. When they return to China, they introduce the habit in their home villages. *Celosia argentea* is mentioned in the *Materia Medica*, the authorship of which is commonly attributed to the legendary emperor Shen Nung. It grows wild in South China and has always been used by the Chinese as a medicine. The new use of the leaves for wrapping betel nut is admittedly an innovation introduced by persons returned from the Nan Yang.⁶⁰ Betel nut chewing by the Chinese in the emigrant communities is fairly common but nowhere as general today as the passage quoted suggests.

In recent years, a number of changes in food habits have taken place in the emigrant community, which many people talk about. Though locally a kind of pepper has long been in use, which is of greenish colour when tender and turns red when fully grown, a smaller kind of Chili pepper, of very pungent odour, has been introduced from the Nan Yang and is popular for seasoning foods. Then, too, soya sauce which is mixed with pepper is becoming common, and this, though a Chinese product, also comes to South China

⁵⁹ *Gazetteer of Chao Chou*, Vol. III, book 12 (Folkways).

⁶⁰ For the use of *celosia argentea* leaves in connection with ancestor worship, see Chapter X, pp. 243-5.

It is not by inadvertence that here and in subsequent paragraphs the author introduces habit forming drugs and drinks in a discussion supposedly devoted to food consumption. More realistic in this matter, probably, than we are in the West, the Chinese never have recognized a clear line of distinction between diet and internal medicine. *The Editor.*

as a new condiment through the new food habits acquired in the Nan Yang.

In the entertainment of guests, coffee now replaces tea in many emigrant households. At meal times the use of coffee is also gradually gaining in popularity. Early in the morning, peddlers often sell hot coffee to customers who take a light breakfast with a hot drink.

Around Swatow and Amoy, a fairly large number of returned emigrants are now taking fresh fruit regularly at meals. Under Chinese traditions fruit usually has been included in elaborate feasts, and was only occasionally eaten at other times. The inclusion of fruit as a regular article of diet with every-day meals, however, is an entirely new custom introduced by emigrants from the Nan Yang. Referring to innovations in his family's diet, a returned emigrant, fifty-five years old, said:

"Three of my sons are now living in the Nan Yang. In their letters home they often try to persuade me to drink milk, saying that it may improve my health. They also suggest that I drink coffee in the morning, so as to get the necessary stimulant before the day's work starts. I have accepted their advice and find that they have been right."

There are now some reformers in this region, influenced by foreign experience and reading, who contend that an improved diet will not only do a great deal for the health of individuals, but that it will confer enormous benefit on Chinese society:

"The poor are not eating enough, and the rich too much—but without adding to their strength. The question of diet never has sufficiently been brought to the attention of China. The country's weakness today is primarily caused by malnutrition. The upper classes have a diet so heavy that they cannot think, are inactive, and lack in vitality.

"This matter of diet is, of course, linked to many other necessary reforms. Selfish ideas of physical comfort must give way to the teaching of social hygiene; people cannot live wholesome lives while they are surrounded by slums."

These words of a prominent Chinese official in Swatow were echoed in less general and more concrete forms by many of our informants, especially among the more educated of those who had lived abroad. It may generally be conceded that a more suitable diet and a more adequate provision for hygiene will be very helpful toward the improvement of social conditions; but to attribute

China's weakness to malnutrition as the primary cause is clearly an overstatement.

CLOTHING

CLOTHING IN THE EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

The material used to make clothes in the emigrant community is partly of local make, partly from other parts of China, and partly imported. Looms here used to be more numerous than they now are. Though there still is some weaving done by the poorer classes—the labour force consisting of married women, girls, and apprentices—competition of better equipped textile industries elsewhere has killed a once prosperous local trade here. The only exception is the Chin Hai cloth, mentioned earlier (see Chapter II), which is of some economic importance.

Such spinning and weaving as is carried on in the homes of the community occupies the spare time of women during the off-season on the farms. The amount of cloth thus produced is limited, and often insufficient to meet the ordinary needs even of the household itself.

Both silk and cotton goods are bought by the townspeople. Black silk, both plain and brocaded, comes in large volume from Hsiang Shan and Shun Teh in Kwangtung, and is widely used for summer wear by all social classes. Says a middle-aged woman, a returned emigrant from Singapore: "I am very fond of my black suit of Hsiang Shan silk; it is both comfortable and easy to wash." From Shanghai come Shantung, Hangchow, and Nanking silks. Shantung pongee is generally used for foreign-style clothes, while Hangchow silk is more suitable for men's shirts and for long gowns (Shanghai dress) for women. The heavier Nanking silks are used by the upper classes for winter clothing.

Much larger is the trade in imported cotton cloths—prints, sheetings, shirtings, drills, velvets—and grass cloth. They are used by all classes, but mainly by the lower and middle class families. The largest volume of imports comes from Great Britain, with Japan as chief competitor. A great variety of imported cloths commonly seen in any Chinese commercial centre find their way to the emigrant community. Two kinds, however, are particularly popular here. Nankeens of different textures, colours, and thickness are bought by all classes, particularly by people who have been

abroad. They are put to various uses for both summer and winter wear. White piece goods of foreign make are bought more especially by returned emigrants and their families: T cloths, brocades, and other thin materials for shirts, canvas for suits.

Clothing in a few selected emigrant households. To give a realistic picture of the clothing choices of returned emigrants, certain of their families are here selected for short descriptions of the clothes or materials they buy.

Case I, Family No. 3, upper class: The clothing worn by members of this family is generally made of cotton, silk, and nankeens of good quality. The parents, who are both over fifty years of age, prefer conservative colours, white, black, or blue. Their children—a full-grown boy and girl and a little boy—are often fashionably dressed, especially the girl. On special occasions, such as a holiday or a visit to friends or relatives, every member of the family is suitably dressed according to the season, to the taste of the individual, and to his or her status. The parents cling to the traditional style, the girl likes to wear the Shanghai long gown, and the boys are usually on such occasions seen in foreign suits. The old couple usually wear old-fashioned Chinese cloth shoes for comfort. Other members of the family wear leather and rubber-and-linen shoes. Cotton socks are used by all of them; the daughter occasionally wears silk stockings. Another son, twenty-three years old, is away in Siam. He usually wears Western clothes.

Case II, Family No. 11, middle class: The mother who is the head of the family wears clothes in the traditional style. The concubine and the daughter-in-law prefer fashionable clothes, especially on festive occasions. The granddaughter is dressed as a nun, for she intends to be a spinster for life. Mother and daughter wear Chinese slippers, the others own leather shoes as well as cloth slippers. In this household they usually buy the material, but they themselves, in their spare hours, sew the clothes for all the members of the family except the old woman.

Case III, Family No. 72, lower class: Most of the clothes used by this family are of local make. The local goods are generally of low quality and of narrow width. Two daughters and daughter-in-law occasionally wear fancy materials, other members—especially the parents—prefer plain clothes, almost all of which are home-made. With the possible exception of the parents, the family usually wear

wooden clogs and no socks. When going out to visit or to take part in some festivity they put on socks and shoes. The son has a pair of rubber shoes (really sneakers) which he seems to reserve for rainy days.

Case IV, Family No. 79, poor class: In summer this family usually wears a hemp material, and cotton in winter. Except for two daughters-in-law who sometimes use fancy patterns they use plain materials in black and white. Members of the family, we were told, rarely appear on the street in new clothes. The mother, as head of the family, has a pair of cloth slippers, a pair of cotton-and-rubber shoes, and two pairs of stockings. Ordinarily, they wear no stockings. The grandson has a pair of wooden clogs but no socks. Most of the apparel, including dresses, suits, slippers and socks, is made at home by female members of the family.

Clothing and fashion. Costume in the emigrant community still conforms in the main to age-old traditions, yet here and there the influence of returned emigrants is discernible. Thus, the wearing of hats which is becoming more and more common can hardly be attributed to any other influence. Walking down a street one may meet persons wearing Siamese turbans, Malay velvet caps, and felt hats of Western style. Side by side with these, of course, one will also see the old-type large round straw hats which for centuries have been worn by farmers, and which even today the workmen prefer as more ample protection from rain or sun. Members of the gentry who have not come under alien cultural influence may still appear on the street bare-headed; only rarely will one meet a gentleman with a black silk cap such as still is customarily worn in Central and North China.

Western clothes are quite common among certain classes. One day at a certain primary school nine of the teachers were seen all clad in foreign-style suits. The oldest of them explained:

"We are convinced that Chinese clothing is more comfortable, but Western clothing gives one a better spirit. Therefore Western clothing is more suitable for our work. One of us had a curious experience while in the Nan Yang. One day he saw at a distance a fellow countryman in the traditional clothes of China. As the man was facing the wind, his clothes waved about him like a flag on a flagpole. The teacher was so impressed by this undignified sight that ever since he has been wearing Western suits."

In certain areas, the demand for Western-style clothes almost amounts to a craze, especially among the more educated young

people and among those who have been abroad. An emigrant's son, eighteen years of age, one day in our presence took out a flannel suit which must have cost about three times as much as a Chinese suit of similar wearing quality. Since his family was by no means well off, and since the young man was at the time living in a rural village, this suit appeared to the writer a sign of extravagance. But the young man explained: "Most boys of my age in this neighbourhood wear Western-style clothes. If I do differently I cannot be on good terms with them and may even be ostracized."

The so-called "Chung Shan" suit is simpler than a Western suit, more economical, and well adapted to all sorts of purposes. Among the Chinese in the Nan Yang the Chung Shan suit is much commoner than European clothes, and worn almost as much as traditional Chinese clothes. It is washable and convenient for work. In the emigrant community of South China it is usually seen on middle-aged individuals, especially those who have at one time been abroad.

Women and girls are more conservative in their costume. While in the Nan Yang, women of the middle and lower classes often appear in Malay dress, but as soon as they return to China they quickly discard this and revert to the traditional Chinese suit. In a way, the colder climate of South China necessitates this change, but, curious as it may seem, the consensus of opinion among returned emigrants seems to be that Malay dress is indecent when worn in China. Says the mother of a former emigrant: "The sarong which a Malay woman wears is just one long piece of cloth wound around her body. If she walks against a strong wind her body may be exposed." Travelling in a number of emigrant villages in East Kwangtung and South Fukien the writer has failed to see a single Chinese woman out of doors dressed in a sarong.

Fashionable girls and women in the emigrant community now wear a long and closely fitting garment, usually made of silk, which originated in Shanghai and is commonly called a Shanghai gown. For some years in the recent past the vogue of the Shanghai dress has increased rapidly among the foreign-born Chinese in the Nan Yang who are educated and in various ways have become interested in their mother country. Through their influence this style of costume is now finding its way to the emigrant communities in South China.

In the small hours of the morning one is apt to be aroused from slumber by the noisy clatter of wooden clogs. The wearers of these clogs, usually sockless, hurry down the narrow lanes and back streets to do their morning errands. Unskilled labourers, farmers, and children of the poorer families frequently go barefoot. Formerly, some of them were obliged to do so even on rainy days; today a great change has come about in this respect, as observed by a rice grower in a South Fukien village: "We farmers," he said, "must thank Mr. Tan Ka-kee for supplying us with rubber shoes which are cheap and suitable for rainy weather. Rubber shoes (really shoes of a strong cotton material and rubber) are now used even in the most backward rural districts."

Chinese shoe factories are gradually extending the market also for their leather shoes. In the emigrant community, the fairly well-to-do family prefers leather shoes to the traditional Chinese cloth slippers because they are more comfortable for long walks.

CLOTHING OF CHINESE OVERSEAS

Because of differences in social background between the various overseas communities, and of differences in the degree to which home traditions are retained by them, the Chinese in the Nan Yang wear many different kinds of clothes. Those who receive a European education and come under the influence of European culture naturally prefer Western-style clothes, but their number is small in every country of the Nan Yang. Among those born abroad, the girls of the lower and middle class families usually adopt the Malay costume, while those of the upper class may adopt Western style. In Netherlands India, since the Gian Gwan Corporation has several times exhibited Chinese manufactures in Soerabaya and Semarang, Peranakan girls of the educated class have recently taken to wearing Shanghai dress, which for them has patriotic associations. A similar trend is noticeable among Chinese girls born in other parts of the Nan Yang.

Chinese males born in the Nan Yang may wear either Chung Shan suits or Western-style suits, but the former are more popular. Chinese emigrants who have lived in the new country for a short time only are dressed in Chinese clothes, much the same as those worn by their countrymen in rural Kwangtung and Fukien. Describing the clothes of the Chinese in Netherlands India, a Dutch

school teacher who has long worked among the local Chinese observes:

"The clothing of the Indo-Chinese, when they go out, is usually the customary white tropical outfit. The working clothes differ in accordance with the nature of the occupation. The coolie who does heavy work wears as little as possible; in the furniture shops, too, one may see some men working without anything on the upper part of their bodies.

"The women for the most part have taken over native costume; sarong and kabaja have become the usual form of dress for Chinese ladies when they go out. Children of from one to six years of age go in pants and kabaja, or in pants and badjoe peki, girls in sarong and kabaja. Nowadays small girls are also often dressed in a frock. The so-called 'Shanghai dress' is only rarely seen.

"The house dress of the girls between fourteen and twenty years also is generally sarong and kabaja, but outside they usually wear European frocks. The kabajas are usually coloured. When they go out in this garment, it is white except for a coloured edging. In West Java, girls of this age group, when they go to a party in sarong and kabaja, put on a badjoe kapaja Soerabaya, made with a broad embroidered border. This is usually made of thin battiste or voile. The badjoe peki is at present usually worn when relatives visit a grave, or when they must attend to the sacrificial tablet of a grave; also on the occasion of the yearly family festival, when they must kneel before the elders.

"In East and Central Java, the girls usually wear white kabajas. Most of the girls who speak Dutch wear a frock when they go out. The bébé, much worn in the past, fortunately is not often seen any more. If they speak English or Chinese they usually wear Shanghai dress.

"The genuine Chinese costume, both for men and women, is the black jacket with trousers, whenever they go out. The buttons often are of gold. With it belong Chinese shoes, or rather slippers, of a black, velvetlike material and without heels.

"In the home, the costume is usually a white striped pair of pants for the women, with a jacket, also white. The material from which it is made is called Kain Tiongkok, meaning 'Chinese stuff.'

Girls and women wear a good deal of jewelry: ear-rings, chains, hairpins, Kabaja pins—usually in sets of three—and girdles, ornamented with brilliants, which are especially popular, and other stones. Older women do not wear chains. It is generally said that the purchase of these ornaments represents a sort of capital investment. Usually the Chinese is too good a financier to keep so much money in the form of dead capital, but he may, of course, reason that precious stones retain their value and buy them for that reason. Generally speaking, Chinese women wear them for the same reason as do other women: to satisfy their vanity."⁶¹

⁶¹ J. Moermann, Jr., op. cit., pp. 178-80.

This description, with special reference to the Chinese in Java, shows that they partly maintain their old customs in respect of clothing and partly adopt new ones. Much the same behaviour was observed by the writer when he visited Penang in the Straits Settlements shortly after the Chinese New Year in 1935, that is, at a time when the local Chinese were just celebrating the festival of the fifteenth of the first moon. The streets were profusely decorated with lanterns, and the Chinese were dressed in their best clothes. "Girls and married women," the writer was told, "wear their most beautiful dresses and their most valuable jewelry at this time; especially the young girls who want to attract the attention of young men; for it is customary for the latter to seek their future wives through a go-between on the basis of their own observations during the lantern festival." Articles of personal adornment were either imported from China or made by local Chinese craftsmen. In Penang, as in Java, few of the Chinese born there were interested in jade as a material for articles of jewelry.

CLOTHING OF NON-EMIGRANT FAMILIES

From Table 9 (p. 95) it will be seen that in the non-emigrant family, clothing costs on an average \$1.27 per month, and constitutes 7.5 per cent of the cost of living, while in the budget of the emigrant family, more than twice as much is, on the average, spent on clothing, namely \$2.86, which represents, however, only 5.7 per cent of the total cost of living. This is perhaps as good an index of the different plane of living as one can expect to find. The contrast is even greater if one remembers that of the emigrant members those who are absent abroad are the most lavish spenders on their clothes, namely the younger men of the family, while those left behind nearly always include the old women and small children, on whose clothing ordinarily little is spent.

However, the comparison of averages is not conclusive when we deal with selected samples. It is more interesting to find from this comparative table that, so far as the poorer households are concerned, the actual amount and the proportion of the income spent on clothing is not strikingly different, whether all the income is earned by those who make up the present household or whether some of it is received from overseas; in both cases it represents a bare minimum. Only as we get to the middle class and well-to-do

families does the difference between the clothing expenditures of the two groups become marked, not necessarily indicating a divergence of tastes, but perhaps also of different social requirement from the standpoint of different modes of life of which costume is, in a sense, merely an outer symbol.

The chief explanation of the difference in cost does not, however, only lie in difference of styles, but perhaps mainly in choice of materials. In the non-emigrant community, the average household makes extensive use of the cheaper grades of local cloth, and correspondingly more sparing use of silks and imported cottons. The absence of hats and leather shoes is indicative of the simplicity of life which still prevails in those villages that have not been directly affected by foreign contacts. Thus the difference between the clothing habits of the two communities is not merely one in purchasing ability.

Since the climate in East Kwangtung and South Fukien is hot in summer and moderate in winter, less clothing is needed by the rural inhabitants than by people of similar social position in other parts of China. This also applies in a general way to fuel and light. Furthermore, all the non-emigrant families and the great majority of the emigrant families own the houses they occupy, as previously mentioned. Consequently, cost of living studies made in other parts of China are not directly comparable with those made in the hinterland of Swatow and Amoy.⁶²

SHELTER

HOUSES IN THE EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

Looking over the houses in the emigrant communities, one gains the impression that in their home construction the inhabitants have commonly shown a high degree of adaptability to the conditions of

⁶² With due precautions, as above hinted, the main features of Table 9 may, of course, be compared with the findings of other studies of costs of living in China. Co-ordinating a number of such studies having working class populations for their subject, L. K. Tao finds an average allotment of 7.5 per cent of the total expenditure for clothing, 57.5 per cent for food, 7.5 per cent for rent, 10.0 per cent for light and fuel, and 17.5 per cent for miscellaneous items (*The Standard of Living Among Chinese Workers*, China Institute of Pacific Relations, Shanghai, 1931, p. 9).

In a recent study of the cost of living for farmers in Lien Kiang, Fukien, the following proportions are noted as typical: clothing, 12.8 per cent, food 52.9 per cent, rent 5.2 per cent, light and fuel 8.2 per cent, miscellaneous items 20.9 per cent. The character of the population in this case is fairly similar to that of the subject of the present study. (J. L. Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, p. 386.)

the local environment. At least they have made appropriate uses of local building materials. Around Chuan Chou in South Fukien where stone is plentiful many builders have used stone for walls, for floor pavement, and for casements. Near Chao Chou and Swatow where pine wood is abundant that wood is used extensively by returned emigrants who build themselves new homes. The typical house here has a tile roof underlined with wooden shingles, and it generally has doors and windows made of lumber readily available in the local yards. As Swatow and Amoy are situated near the sea, one is struck with the common use of a kind of concrete, the chief ingredient of which is composed of ashes and sea shells, mixed with sand and pebbles. This concrete mixture is used in roofing, flooring, and the paving of streets. According to the *Gazetteer of Chao Chou*:

"The houses of the residents depend on the generous use of the mixture of shell ashes with sand and mud for walls and floors. The mixture is so strong that even after typhoons and destructive fires, walls often still stand and do not fall asunder."⁶³

The strength of the local concrete is here a little exaggerated, for, under the tidal wave of August 2nd, 1922, many houses in and near Swatow did collapse. After that unusual disaster the families of better economic standing have tended to make use of modern cement to take the place of the traditional shell-ash mixture which, in fact, is gradually disappearing from the local market.

Typical homes of some emigrant families. To give a more realistic picture of the homes in the emigrant community, those of a few emigrant families may be selected for comment.

Home I, family No. 9, upper class: This family, long successfully engaged in business in Siam, has three times bought for its own use a new house in the ancestral village. The third and most recent of these homes, bought in 1931, may briefly be described as follows: the central section of the house is built in the traditional local style; it has four large rooms on the central court and six small rooms in the centre rear; in addition, there are on either side one large room and five small rooms. Another part of the house is in Western architecture, and is richly decorated and contains two parlours and four rooms of ordinary size. The building material

⁶³ Chow Shi-shun, compiler, *Gazetteer of Chao Chou*, Vol. III, book 12, Folkways, p. 7.

consists of a concrete made of the shell-ash mixture, of stone, pine wood, tiles, and bricks. The house is surrounded by an open yard and also a garden. Its height varies from twelve Chinese feet (4.3 m.) to over thirty Chinese feet (10.7 m.). There is plenty of light and good ventilation. The inside furnishings are clean and show good taste.

Home II, family No. 3, also upper class: This is a big one storey house built in the traditional style. It has three large and four small rooms. In addition there are two side rooms of large dimensions. The ceiling is about twenty-two Chinese feet (7.9 m.) high. The big hall is well lighted, but most of the small rooms are dark. Ventilation is poor. The owner of this house is an ardent believer in geomancy, and therefore does not open many windows for fear that the "good spirit" may leak out of the house. The shell-ash concrete mixture has been largely used here, on a framework of pine. There are the usual tile roof and the usual stone pillars. Fire bricks and stone are used for flooring. The house is joined to the neighbouring houses on three sides, there being no space between them; and the only access is through the front gate.

Home III, family No. 2, middle class: This is a new-style house with three storeys. On the third floor is a sort of roof garden, with garden furniture surrounded by flowering plants and caged birds. A large part of the ground floor is taken up by a single large living room. Behind it are several rooms for other uses. Other living rooms are distributed over the second and third floor. The house occupies a little more than half a *mow*. There is a yard in front and a garden in the rear. Cement, steel, and shell ash concrete are used in the construction. Little wood is in evidence; in fact, the style of building is modernistic.

Home IV, family No. 72, lower class: Only the upper floor of this house is used for living purposes; it contains one large and two small rooms. The ground floor is used as a work-shop for manufacturing bean curd. The parents live in one of the small upstairs rooms, the son and his wife in the other. The large room, in addition to being the family's living room, also serves as a store room, and two grown-up daughters sleep there. The height of the house is over twenty Chinese feet (7.2 m.). The rooms are dark, and the ventilation is poor. The house has the usual tile roof and fire-brick flooring.

Home V, family No. 79, upper limit of poor class: This is a small and old house on a narrow lane. The parents live in the main room, and two daughters-in-law in two small rooms adjoining it. The elder son is in Annam and the younger one in Siam, both as labourers. The rooms are all dark and humid. The furniture of the home consists of a dining table, three stools, and one bamboo chair. The walls are all bare, without decoration of any sort.

House and social prestige: old folkways. According to an old adage, if a man should become rich or distinguished in government service he should return to his home village to receive the admiration of his neighbours. Otherwise his unrecognized distinctions might be compared with a gorgeous costume worn by its proud owner through the streets on a dark night.

Many of the emigrants who have achieved a certain degree of economic success abroad try to live up to the sentiment just expressed on returning to their old home in South China. The most practical way to gratify their vanity is to build a house. Even when he does not contemplate a return in the immediate future, a Chinese emigrant who has made a fortune in the Nan Yang is quite likely to send a sum of money home for the express purpose of buying a new house.

A typical example is the family No. 9 whose home has been briefly described above under I. At the beginning of the Republic the present owner with a younger brother had gone to Siam as labourers. The brother in some way became acquainted with a member of the Siamese royal family and gained the privilege of doing business in the palace. Later, he was entrusted with the collection of wine taxes in certain areas. Within ten years, the two brothers accumulated savings said to have amounted to about \$200,000 Chinese currency. They enlarged their business activities by opening a pawnshop, a grocery store and a rice mill—the last-named in partnership with other friends. In 1929 the brother died, and the property was divided, our friend's share being about a quarter-of-a-million dollars, about as much as he himself had earned. He has two other brothers, each of whom is said to be worth about \$100,000. The family's business enterprises in Siam continue, and all except the rice mill are profitable.

The chief use made by the family of the remittances from the members who were so successful in Siam was investment in the purchase of houses and rice fields. In 1923, it bought a house for about \$15,000 and a farm of about the same value. The next year it bought another house for \$13,500, and spent another \$12,000 to have it repaired and \$3,000 on its furnishings. In addition, over \$10,000 were laid out that year to buy more rice fields. In 1931, the family again purchased a house, for \$13,000, and again invested another \$10,000 in rice fields.

Cases like this are numerous. The following, however, deserves particular attention. It concerns our family No. 14, the head of which, then a poor man, went to Bangkok in 1911 to find employment in the store of a kinsman. After five years as a wage-earner he used his modest savings to open a grocery store in partnership with a friend. In 1921 he returned to the home village and is said to have spent that year \$30,000 on a new house and on some rice fields. After two years at home he again went to Siam to manage the grocery store and gradually to branch out in other lines. His wife all this time stayed at home in China and managed the affairs of the family while he was away. She had money enough to send children to school and to have the ancestral hall and graves repaired. In 1932 the husband again returned to China and built a new house which was completed two years later at a cost of \$8,000. Because the family already had suitable living quarters, the new house was leased to another family. This shrewd and experienced emigrant explained his enthusiasm for house building this way:

"As an investment, a house is far more secure than a bank deposit; for, in China a bank sometimes goes bankrupt, but a house is always there. The house cannot be moved away, and it will be seen by everybody."

Since the house is "seen by everybody" it is the most effective way to express one's vanity. An imposing new house will reveal better than anything else that the owner has made money in the Nan Yang. Since it is immovable, it really is a relatively safe investment, particularly in a rural area that is by no means always safe from bandits. To express social prestige by means of a house is thus a favourite folkway among the Chinese emigrants. Travelling in East Kwangtung and South Fukien, one can without the slightest risk of error recognize an emigrant community by its

new houses, and frequently by its foreign-style houses, or *yang lou* as they are popularly called.

The house is not the only means, however, at the disposal of the emigrant to build himself a monument before the eyes of his fellow-citizens. To quote a member of the Amoy gentry:

"According to the returned emigrants of our village, to attain complete happiness in life would seem to require the possession of four things—a house, a study, a graveyard, and an ancestral hall. The first indicates a prosperous family, the second provides for the home education of the children, the third makes it possible to show proper reverence for the dead, and the fourth establishes a bond between the dead and the living, thus perpetuating the family line."

The upper-class emigrant family usually has in its home a study which symbolizes culture and refinement. In this room are displayed books, paintings, scrolls, and other art objects. Guests of learning or those on intimate relations with the family are as a rule invited into this room. Children often do their lessons there.

In short, an effective display of pride does not mean only a large house, but it has to have evidences of taste and culture. This may be supplied either by its modernity or, on the contrary, by an ostensible show of liking for those things which traditionally stand for refinement. Thus, in these homes one will often find a little rock garden or an artificially constructed perforated rock in the courtyard, a bowl of gold fish, potted plants, and fruit trees. The ideal of "complete happiness", above referred to, is not in fact anything new the emigrants bring back with them from abroad, but embodied in the folkways of the countryside. What they do contribute is financial ability to gratify these tastes and, sometimes, innovations which produce curious contrasts between old and new in the homes and in the furnishing of homes. Kwangtung and Fukien always have been famous for their home culture.

"When a well-to-do family builds a home, it usually includes in the plans a beautiful ancestral hall. In the seven *hsien* of Chao Chou and Swatow, though there are humble huts in the villages, the cities are beautified by many large houses of classic architecture. Wealthy families have in addition to their living rooms studies which are decorated with painted pillars and carved beams. In the yard adjoining such studies one may find a pond, a pavilion, and a grove of bamboo and of trees." ⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Chow Shi-shun, compiler, *Gazetteer of Chao Chou*, Vol. III, book 12, Folkways, p. 7.

Home and security. Mention has been made of one householder (the head of family No. 3) who is a strong believer in geomancy. Though this is a subject to which we shall have to return later in another connection, it should here be stated that the security of the home in the minds of many people, in the emigrant no less than in the non-emigrant community, is seen quite as much in the conformity of its construction with the laws of the spirit world as with those of physics. Generally speaking, the number of windows, together with their size and location, is a matter to be planned with the advice of a geomancer. In the homes of many emigrant families, as a consequence, the windows are too few and too small from the standpoint of modern hygiene, and the rooms are dark and damp. In some emigrant homes in South Fukien and East Kwangtung the strange shape of windows attracted the writer's attention. They were about 14 Chinese inches long and 4 inches wide. In others, he noticed that the position of the windows was curiously inconvenient. In almost every such instance it was found on inquiry that geomancy was responsible for the peculiarities of construction.

Of the evils of geomancy the emigrants of better education and wider experience abroad are sometimes well aware. Referring to a dispute that had arisen out of the construction of new houses in a South Fukien village, the head of a family in a letter from Manila says, with a faint show of irritation:

"Your letter mentions the Provisional Constitution of the Republic as a guarantee of liberty and freedom, and contends that I need not be afraid of coercion on the part of our kinsmen at home in the event of our building new houses. But you must remember that our kinsmen have a deep-rooted belief in geomancy and that this has more than once prevented us from realizing

"Fortunately, A and B have recently agreed not to interfere with each other's affairs. This is a rare opportunity which we should not allow to pass. our desire to build ourselves new houses.

Our kinsmen in Manila have lately discussed the available building land of B and G, and have decided to build two foreign-style houses thereon. Meantime, they have appointed H and I to be responsible for the building operations."

If education should become more general, there is no question that geomancy would gradually lose its hold on the emigrant communities. Where schools and hospitals are established, their

beneficial effects on society are already discernible. In a certain emigrant community in South Fukien the nurses and social workers are said to have succeeded in persuading enough local families to break through their walls, to be responsible for five hundred new windows in the brief space of one year!

There is, of course, nothing arbitrary in the precautions taken by the house builder against possible danger from the spirit world. Back of it lies an age-old custom which historically is connected with fears of much more tangible risks. The insufficient provision of doors and windows in the construction of homes is intimately associated with a history of real insecurity. In South Fukien we were told with vivid detail of a case in which a band of robbers appeared before a wide window facing a spacious room and, revolvers in their hands, tried to coerce the house owner to open the door. Facing dangerous situations like that, careful householders are not likely to plan many large windows when building a new house, or to consider convenience the matter of first importance when planning the location of such openings.

In the homes of the upper-class emigrant families the gate is usually protected by strong wrought-iron bars. Immediately inside the gate a huge net of iron bars covers the courtyard from above. These nets are fastened to the walls on all sides and make the entry of robbers practically impossible, since the rooms have no doors or windows to the outside.

Internal and external decorations and furnishings. The homes of the middle- and upper-class emigrants generally exhibit foreign influences in their interior decorations and furnishings as well as in their construction. These influences are fairly obvious even when, as is often the case, the imitation of the style and spirit of Western architecture is rather superficial. In emigrant community Z, the house of a wealthy returned emigrant is entirely in an Occidental—the so-called “functional”—style. Among other things it has a swimming pool, and is furnished with a radio set and furniture of modernist appearance, but the water for the pool is pumped in from a fish pond near the house where water buffaloes take their bath after their daily labours. A part of the wall is joined to that of a neighbouring house which is in the traditional

local style, thus an incongruity is created which may strike one as disharmonious.⁶⁵

In the matter of interior decoration, the owner of even a new house often shows a correct appreciation for objects of Chinese art (see Chapter VII). In a certain emigrant home the side walls have frescoes of the traditional style, well executed. In another, the six doors of the parlour are interestingly painted with the incidents of a folk tale that goes back to the period of the Three Kingdoms (211-280). Typical also is the display of family heir-looms. In a certain emigrant home near Swatow a scroll is unrolled on one of the living-room walls, written by a former Premier of the Republic in recognition of the services rendered by the head of the house during a flood. On the opposite side is a framed letter from an English business man in British North Borneo expressing his gratitude to the owner for a loan of his private car.

Sometimes one may recognize lack of proper understanding for some Western practice which is copied. In quite a number of emigrant homes the parlour, for example, is furnished in Occidental style, but the owner often overlooks an essential when he fails to provide the doors and windows with screens, so that flies and mosquitoes make the room uncomfortable.

HOUSES IN THE NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

For the purpose of comparison, we must very briefly refer to the typical homes in the non-emigrant community. As has already been stated, the house here is owned by the occupant in every one of the 100 households selected for our sample study. In the emigrant community it is owned by all but nine of the households investigated. Therefore, although rent does not enter into the comparison of actual living expenses, the annual cost of shelter has been ascertained in each case. It has been calculated as representing 3 per cent of the value—the usual rate of interest on real-estate investments in these villages.

Readjusted by the inclusion of this item in the monthly cost of living for 100 families in each of the two communities (as given in Table 9), the proportions of the main categories of expenditure are as detailed in Table 10.

⁶⁵ This home happens to be one of several described by B. Lasker in "Portrait of a Chinese Town", *Asia*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, February, 1938, pp. 79-82.

TABLE 10. COST OF LIVING FOR SELECTED HOUSEHOLDS IN EMIGRANT AND NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES,
INCLUDING AN ALLOWANCE FOR HOUSE RENT

Monthly Income per family (Chinese dollars)	No. of families	Monthly expenditure per family					Total
		Rent	Food	Clothing	Light & fuel	Miscel- laneous	
Percentages of Expenditures of 100 Emigrant families, October 1934—September 1935							
Less than \$20	17	\$ 1.68	% 10.1	% 62.7	% 5.2	% 13.0	% 100.0
\$ 20 to \$ 49	49	2.68	9.4	59.5	6.2	12.0	100.0
\$ 50 to \$124	21	13.75	15.6	53.8	5.0	7.1	100.0
\$125 to \$250	13	44.80	19.9	43.0	3.1	5.7	100.0
Total	100	10.31	15.9	50.6	4.4	7.8	100.0
Percentages of Expenditures of 100 Non-emigrant families, March 1935—February 1936							
Less than \$15	52	0.97	6.7	59.2	5.5	11.2	100.0
\$15 to \$24	23	1.25	6.1	58.2	5.4	9.5	100.0
\$25 to \$34	16	1.65	6.0	56.5	6.3	8.0	100.0
\$35 to \$80	9	5.71	13.9	49.5	8.5	6.7	100.0
Total	100	1.57	7.7	56.6	6.2	9.3	100.0

It is seen that the actual amount for rent, on the basis of the market value of house and lot, is on the average seven times as high for the emigrant as for the non-emigrant family. But this average for the group as a whole, as has previously been stated, is not very significant. We again find that for those on the lowest rung of the economic ladder, the difference, though considerable, is not sensational—\$1.68 as against \$0.97 a month; but in the case of the well-to-do it is striking, a monthly average expenditure of \$44.80 as against \$1.71. The emigrant household of this upper class pays almost eight times as much for shelter as does the non-emigrant household of the comparable class—a circumstance partly explained, however, by the fact that though they represent the highest social level in each case, these two groups really do not enjoy the same average income, that of the emigrant household being about four times as high. The disparity between the outgo for shelter in the case of the middle class is even greater, but here it is even more difficult to assign the exact explanation, since, as we have seen, the non-emigrant families probably have more of an economic asset in their gardens.

The proportion of the equivalent for rent in the total family expenditure is not great, compared with that of city dwellers, but high for a rural area, especially for the higher income groups of the emigrant households. The disproportion here between emigrant and non-emigrant families is not as great as in the case of the actual figures, since, as we have seen, all the other expenditures of the emigrant households are also much higher. However, assuming these estimates to be more or less accurate, it is important to note that in the circumstances of the emigrant community, i.e. under the influence of the ideas introduced by returned emigrants, the proportion of the larger household expenditure which goes for shelter is twice as high as is the corresponding proportion in the non-emigrant community. This statistical fact, borne out also by other evidences, means that the foreign contacts of the emigrant community, together with the improved economic circumstances, mean a shift from other types of expenditure to provision of more adequate house room. In other words, when the emigrants, especially those of the more affluent group, spend a larger proportion of their household budget on their homes than do the non-emigrant families of similar socio-economic standing, this reflects differences

not only in purchasing power but also in purpose—in standards of living. On the other hand, by building houses and buying other real estate in the home villages, the rich emigrants have materially forced up land values so that possibly the same amount of expenditure provides more real use value in the non-emigrant than in the emigrant community—another reason why conclusions from comparisons of this sort cannot be carried very far.

The difference in costs as between the emigrant and the non-emigrant communities may be indicated by a comparison of the estimated market values of houses in the two communities in occupation by households of the four categories referred to throughout the present chapter.

TABLE II. ESTIMATED VALUE OF HOUSES IN EMIGRANT AND NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

<i>Type of Household</i>	<i>Emigrant Community</i>	<i>Non-emigrant Community</i>
Poor	Less than \$1,000	Less than \$250
Lower	\$1,000 to \$3,999	\$250 to \$499
Middle	\$4,000 to \$9,999	\$500 to \$999
Upper	\$10,000 and over	\$1,000 and over

It is also from this more direct comparison that the houses in the emigrant community are far more expensive than those in the non-emigrant community. Apart from the difference in land values already referred to, this higher cost is, of course, also largely explained by the fact that more of the houses in the emigrant community are new or fairly new and that they are generally somewhat larger and better equipped (even though not necessarily better built from the standpoint of stability). In the non-emigrant community the most valuable house found among the homes investigated was said to be worth \$10,000; in the emigrant community Z it was worth \$50,000.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

WHETHER the larger actual and proportional expenditure on house room in the emigrant community, as compared with the non-emigrant, also reflects, among other things, a larger family, the information at our disposal does not permit us to judge. Although most of the emigrant households included in the more detailed budget study still have members overseas, it is also true that one of the first and most tradition-sanctioned expressions of social status in China is the size of the family. The respected man in the community not only makes provision for as large a male offspring as he can afford,⁶⁶ but also often keeps around him members of the family who, without the inducement of a comfortable home, would drift off to start a home of their own. Perhaps the two tendencies cancel each other, so that actually there is not much difference in the size of households as between the emigrant and the non-emigrant community.

Certainly the essentials of the family system have not been changed by many generations of contact with the world outside of China and its different attitudes toward this basic social nucleus of society. How that system, characterized as it is by joint management of its resources and rigid control of the individual member, operates in the emigrant community can best, perhaps, be described by means of concrete examples.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The first case is that of an upper-class family. The head of this household is a man, 61 years of age. Brought up in modest circum-

⁶⁶ Although reliable demographic data are not available in South China (see p. 173), it is certain from a comparison of Chinese birth rates in the Nan Yang with those of other groups that the old desire for large families has not disappeared. Thus, the Chinese in the Straits Settlements, in 1933, had a birth rate of 43.21, as against one of 39.86 for Malays and 23.98 for Europeans (*Annual Report on the Registration of Births and Deaths*, Singapore, 1934, p. 6:). For Netherlands India, there is a good deal of indirect evidence to the same effect (*Volkstelling*, 1930, Part VII, p. 157.).

TABLE 12. COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD UNDER "DUAL FAMILY SYSTEM"

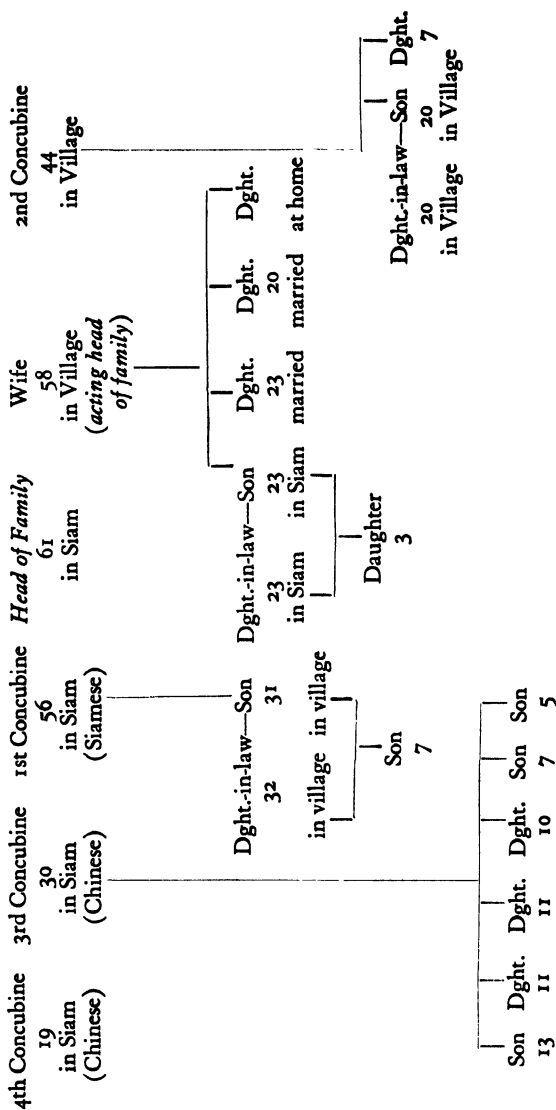
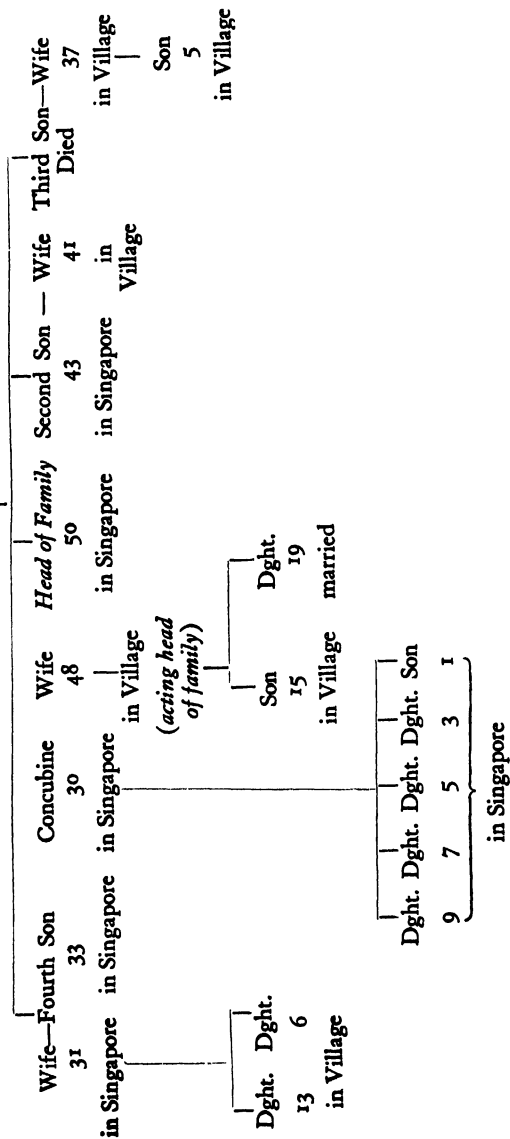


TABLE 13.

Father

77

in Village



stances and hard pressed by poverty, he went to Bangkok at the age of seventeen to become apprenticed at a monthly wage of five Siamese dollars (*Baht*). Later, he started a business of his own which gradually expanded in several directions. After forty years he was established successfully in grocery, dry goods, and rice businesses, and also in general export and import. Today he is a millionaire. When he is away, his wife manages the family affairs at home in China. Living with her are one of his concubines, her own children and the concubine's children. The husband lives in Bangkok with three concubines and the children of two of them. Thus the family may be said to have two branches in the life-time of its founder, one in South China and the other in Siam, an arrangement common enough to be widely recognized as the 'dual family system'. The combined family is made up of twenty-two persons, as shown in Table 12. The married daughters are not usually considered members of the family since they are not living in their father's house. The family owns three slave girls (*Mui Tsai*) who are not counted as members either, although, as distinct from servants, they are permanent members of the household.

The second example (see Table 13) is that of a middle-class family. Here also the head of the household is abroad for the time being, living in Singapore with a concubine. In the village at home the wife of the emigrant presides over the household. In 1934, this family was composed of eighteen persons, not including a married daughter, eight living in the village and ten living in Singapore.

The third example (see Table 14) is that of a lower-class family. Without counting two married daughters, it had ten members in 1934. The wife of the absent head of the family manages the household affairs in the village. The head is in Bangkok but has no family there. The son is a bookkeeper in Siam, temporarily out of work, and has left his young wife with his mother at home.

These three examples will give some inkling of the indefinite variety in the composition of typical families in the emigrant community. The immediate family circle thus made up does not, however, yet fully indicate the size of the household. By and large, the traditional joint family still prevails. Aside from husband, wife, concubines, and their children, the household usually also includes other kin—a younger brother of the husband and his family, or grandchildren, a father or mother of the husband no longer actively

engaged in household management or, if the head of the household is old enough to be a grandfather, his daughters-in-law and grandchildren.

The home remittances of the emigrant, therefore, supply the needs of a household variously composed: perhaps only of wife and children, more often also of members of the larger family. When the head of the household has a son abroad with him, as in the third of our examples, the two will customarily not make separate contributions for the upkeep of their dependents, but the contribution will be a joint one, addressed to the acting head of the household in the home village who, in turn, will take care of the son's immediate dependents, his wife and children. Usually it is the wife of the head who looks after the affairs at home while he is away (not an aged father or mother); only occasionally, when the wife is not sufficiently experienced, may some other older woman act as head of the household and take charge of all the matters that affect the immediate family circle. This may at times include important questions having to do with business, education, marriage, religious observances, and other decisions that require considerable judgment. The head of the family in the Nan Yang if his circumstances permit cohabits with another woman, and this gives rise to the "dual family system" to be further discussed below.

THE CHIEF FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

Perpetuation of the family tree. The basic desire for family survival which has so often been described as the central source of motivation in Chinese private and social life has its living connections with the past and the future. The peasant in South China is not an individualist. He feels himself bound to his sires and to his progeny by a blood relationship that involves both duties and benefits. He usually holds to a firm belief in the power of his ancestors to bestow blessings on his home and to avert misfortune from it. While the scope of the present study does not permit a fuller analysis of this belief, of its causes, and of the social uses that spring from it, a few illustrative comments may be in place. In the opinion of an elderly woman:

"We worship spirits because they give us protection in many ways. Without this protection, all sorts of evil things may befall the family's fortunes and the health of its children. . . . Because he had a good geomancer and gained

the protection of his deceased forebears, so-and-so, who now lives in Singapore, has been able to accumulate a large fortune."

To the minds of the more educated emigrants the veneration of ancestors represents not so much a worship of ghosts or a religious service as it affords an occasion for the remembrance and commemoration of the departed. A man in Singapore, in a letter to his younger brother in Amoy, says:

"In your last letter you mentioned that your family had gone to visit the tomb of our late father near Amoy. You may like to know that on the same day my wife and I prepared certain dishes to commemorate him here in our Singapore home. We feel that on that day we should recall father's love for us, remember what all through his life he has done for the family and for the community, and thus refresh our memory of his perfect personality."

Concern for the continuity of family life also produces willing sacrifice to assure for it a promising future. In an emigrant family of middle or lower economic status, the head of the family often sets aside a portion of the remittance received from overseas as a contribution toward the marriage fees either for the sender of the money himself or for some other member of the family. Such an allocation can only be made, of course, where there is a surplus over the sum required to meet immediate physical needs, but the saving of some part of the money received toward the marriage expenses of the absent son is quite common even in families that are by no means living well. When enough money has been saved up and a suitable girl has been found, the emigrant son is asked to come home and get married. Two or three months after the wedding the married son may again leave for the Nan Yang, but his wife will remain behind with her mother-in-law.

Economic inter-dependence. In a joint family as a rule the gainfully employed turn in their earnings to the common treasury. The emigrant abroad, after deducting what he needs to meet his own expenses, usually remits his savings periodically to his home in China for a variety of purposes, as above hinted; but he does not make a final allocation of its use—not even when he is the head of the family—for at home in the Chinese village many needs must be considered of which the absent member may not be fully aware.

Among the members of the family there is a well-adjusted economic inter-dependence. If the emigrant himself should by any chance lose his job or his income he can always return to his home

in the Kwangtung or Fukien village and expect there to be taken care of by other members of the family. Thus, it is practically unknown for an unemployed man who has a family to seek the aid of private or public charity, whether he is in China or abroad. This complete dependence on the family tie is, of course, a social heritage and does not spring from—though it is not necessarily in conflict with—the economic requirements of success in the Nan Yang. In an agricultural society certain definite advantages are usually derived from this limited type of communal living. Mutual assistance is easily available and extended without cumbersome organization—aid, for example, in the emergency needs for labour on the farm. The need for labour at some times of the year is responsible also, in the case of the peasants, for the high value attached to a large family. Nothing so much indicates the social status of a household in the Chinese countryside as its size, which is a matter for pride, more especially, when it contains a large number of males.

Not only labour needs but the need for self-defence is still a matter of considerable concern favouring a high regard for group cohesion in the family, especially in the more remote villages. Says an elderly woman:

“At the beginning of the Republic, our family moved here from a faraway village. When we were living there we were sometimes molested not only by robbers but also by the larger families in the village. Since we have come here to join our kinsmen we feel more secure because more of us are living together.”

In the settlement of disputes or conflicts between one clan and another, or between one village and another, the advantages of group living are, of course, obvious. A single illustration must suffice. On an island in South Fukien two clans have been living harmoniously for generations and have co-operated in various undertakings relating to public safety and to education. In 1934, at a time of local unrest, it was proposed to construct some watch towers in the community for its defence. Clan A in this as in other matters had much greater political power than clan B, because to it belonged nearly all the village elders. These, it was alleged, were receiving bribes to permit the location of the proposed watch towers where they would do most good to protect the property of members of their own clan to the detriment of the interests of the community at large. Clan B which opposed the changes introduced

by the elders in the original plans was humiliated and penalized. In a letter to kinsmen in Billiton, Netherlands India, a leader of clan B says:

"Since our clan has no one in the local public service, we had to pay a fine in order to secure the release of some of our members who had been arrested as a result of their unsuccessful protest. Clan A has more men and is, therefore, more powerful; but it misuses its power.

"In your previous letter you asked about the transmission charge which clan A is in the habit of making on remittances you send us. They are as follows: for a letter containing forty or fifty dollars the charge is 30 cents, for one below thirty dollars it is 25 cents, for one below twenty dollars it is 18 cents, and for one below ten dollars it is 10 cents."

The charge complained of in this letter is in addition to the remittance fees that have already been duly paid and is, therefore, illegal. After the conflict, clan B severed its relations with clan A and planned, among other things, for independent schools of its own. Approving this proposal, one of the kinsmen in Billiton writes:

"Clan A misuses its public power to serve its own selfish interests. Its misdeeds are no longer bearable. For our part, as your kinsmen in Billiton, we approve of the proposed school in the old village and have already collected \$200 toward the initial expenses. And we have already engaged X to become its teacher at the end of the (lunar) year."

After establishing the school, clan B made further plans to make itself independent of clan A. A letter from Billiton says:

"On receiving your letter, the kinsmen here held an emergency conference at which uncle M proposed that we build an ancestral hall in the home village; such a hall, he thought, would be an appropriate place for holding meetings and for strengthening the spirit of solidarity among our kinsmen."

In the Nan Yang a large family is hard to maintain. Besides, there seems to be less need for it. If two brothers happen to specialize in the same occupation and work in the same shop they may manage to live together, but more often members of the same family are engaged in different occupations and may even be scattered over a number of cities and regions. Some of the old emigrants who recalled the happiness of living in the larger family circle during their boyhood in South China expected their children to keep up this tradition. Some of them built a family house for this purpose. Others made use of the ancestral hall and asked their sons to live

there for a short time after their wedding before establishing a home of their own, whether in China or abroad, but as a rule the tradition is falling into disuse, and is bound to do so. According to an eminent lawyer, a Baba of Penang:

"Some of our conservative compatriots have stipulated in their wills that their children and grandchildren should live in the family house in order to maintain the solidarity of the family. But such advice is seldom followed."

In certain parts of the Nan Yang, family cohesion is preserved to a certain extent mainly through the institution of the ancestral hall. Families of wealth with numerous offspring usually have such a hall. One of the sights of Soerabaya is the magnificent ancestral hall of a Peranakan family that has been there for five generations. The property was bought in 1792.

From Siam, Chinese emigrants return more frequently than they do from other parts of the Nan Yang. As a result, there are more ancestral halls in those villages in South China from which emigrants mainly go to Siam. The Chinese of French Indo-China likewise seem to have no particular enthusiasm for the establishment of ancestral halls in their adopted country.

AUTHORITY IN THE FAMILY

The household. The head of the family takes care of its finances, arranges for the weddings and funerals of members, and decides all important questions. In emigrant community X, a fifteen-year-old girl was, on her graduation from the primary school, betrothed by her father to a rich emigrant without her consent. This case illustrates the authority which normally still rests in the heads of families, an authority they are the more likely to exercise the less they have been affected by modern education, but the fact that an instance of this sort is mentioned at all shows that traditional authority is being questioned in the communities that have intellectual contacts with the outside world.

Formerly, the head of the family had great powers of discipline. Unchastity on the part of daughters or daughters-in-law was sometimes punished with death. There are modern novels describing how such women were at times buried alive or thrown into the sea. In recent times the old severity has lessened, and change in the social mores is going on at an ever increasing rate. Today, it is

not uncommon for parents to seek their daughter's opinion on a prospective match before entering into negotiation. In emigrant community X, the offenders against sex morality in a recent case were punished by sending the girl to the Nan Yang, and compelling the boy to leave the village permanently. A principal cause of such changes as these is the growing influence exercised by the schools. The outlook of both children and adults is widened by acquaintance with the ways in which people think elsewhere. Apart from his contact with the school, the head of the family will be influenced also by what he hears from outsiders who come to the village and tell of what is happening in the world. In this way his whole attitude may be liberalized.

The more specific influence exercised by members of the family who are overseas can at times be distinguished from these more general impacts on the established order. In a home letter, or on an occasional visit to the village, such a person often introduces a new habit or advocates the change of some old custom. Enriched by foreign experience, he usually stands for law and order and for the maintenance of justice—as he sees it. He fights against those forms of oppression and licentiousness which to his mind are associated with too slavish a clinging to antiquated mores:

“Lynching is mob rule. It replaces constituted law with violence. Among all the crimes on the statute book it is the most horrible. It is savage, uncivilized, a relic of the cavemen who belonged to prehistoric times.

“Recently two cases of lynching have occurred in Amoy, which are not isolated instances, but rather typical of life in this city. The government should frown upon the readiness of some people to take the law into their own hands. They should be told plainly that they are now living in a civilized country with all the instrumentalities for the proper administration of justice, reminding them at the same time that the law of the jungle has long been replaced by the law of justice and civilization.”⁶⁷

This new conception of law and order obviously is influenced, on the one hand, by the modern national law codes, as yet imperfectly applied even by the organs of the Government, and by the experience of modern law and its working in other countries. The degree to which it will be able to assert itself against the immense prestige of customary law in such intimate matters as authority in the family will depend on the extent to which the whole community shares the experience of modernization in its economic and social

⁶⁷ Editorial in *South China Press*, Amoy, July 21st, 1934.

life. Of the fact that in the emigrant communities this process of change in the conception of the rights and duties of the individual is a relatively rapid one, further evidence will be offered below.

The clan. The authority of the head of the family is particularly great when he is also the head of the larger family, or even of the clan. There can be no clear distinction between these two categories of kinship as far as practical matters are concerned, because the affairs of the clan are often administered by subsidiary branch units which in all essentials resemble what is called the large family. Here authority also rests, not in a democratically constituted assembly—though clan elders are often called together, as in several cases cited in this book, to confer on matters of importance—but in the head of the clan or of the large family. His voice is heeded when he settles disputes between members or between branches of the family. If he is the head of a large clan his authority extends to the settlement between subsidiary branches and between villages. For example, toward the end of 1934 a feud threatened between two branches of the same clan in emigrant community X. The conflict had been caused by a dispute between their children. Both branches threw up barricades of sand bags around their homes and to close off their streets; and on both sides men were sharpening their weapons. The heads of the families were called together, and after negotiations extending over four days the controversy was peaceably settled. In former times, the heads of clans sometimes used their position of leadership, not to conciliate, but to foment strife. At Chao An, a certain influential elder is said to have made his living largely by creating trouble between sub-clans and villages, and then having these disputes settled by money payments demanded for this purpose from well-to-do kinsmen in the Nan Yang.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

In the emigrant communities those women who have neither attended a modern school nor been overseas—that is, the great majority—are still occupying the traditional status of their sex in rural China. Socially, they are deemed inferior to men; and this inferiority is accepted by most women without protest.

According to Chinese tradition, the social position of the wife is higher than that of the concubine. If a man has a wife and two concubines the wife occupies the *Ti* position and the concubines that

of the *Shu*. After their death, the wife's soul tablet will be designated by *Pi* and that of the concubines by *Chi Shi*, which is of considerably lower rank. If a concubine should give birth to a boy her social position, especially in an emigrant family, is at once raised almost to that of the wife. In an emigrant family the sons of the wife and those of the concubine are practically equal in all matters concerning marriage, the choice of occupation, and the inheritance of family property.

If the head of the family is staying abroad and intends to marry a concubine, his wife in the home village usually raises no objection. The reason probably is that it is much more advantageous for the whole family's finances to have the head lead an orderly family life while abroad than would be the lack of his habituation in the domestic virtues. But if the man takes a concubine while living at home in China with his wife and family, the wife usually shows determined disapproval. This explains two phenomena observed in South China: on the one hand the rare occurrence of polygamous marriage in the homes of emigrants (perhaps not exceeding one in a hundred), on the other the apparent absence of any animus against the concubines taken abroad, and on the rare occasions when such a concubine or her children are brought to China for a visit or to stay.

THE POSITION OF CHILDREN

As has already been stated, the typical emigrant shares the traditional desire of Chinese men to have many children, especially sons. In well-to-do families this desire is sometimes gratified by having concubines and by the adoption of children. The adopted son in the emigrant family has, to all intents and purposes, the same social status as the son of the wife. Psychologically, however, there is a difference. Being the direct descendent on the paternal side of the family, the natural son feels that his blood relationship entitles him to special consideration as indispensable to perpetuate the family tree. Other members of the family are also proud of him for this distinction which the adopted son cannot claim, and which early finds expression in the intimate rites of family festivals.

As regards the inheritance of family property, the son of the wife customarily gets twice the amount left to the son of the concubine. If, however, the son of the concubine is exceptionally capable or otherwise socially distinguished, he may claim an equal share. If the son of

the concubine is a minor at the time of the father's decease he may not inherit directly, but must depend on the pleasure of his half-brother, the wife's son, for the administration of his part of the property. In late years, since the modern civil law of China favours the equal division of the family estate among all the children of the father, litigation occasionally occurs.

Adoption of children, especially of boys, is quite common in emigrant families. According to social usage, the adopted boy adopts the father's surname (though latterly this custom is not always followed); consequently he is regarded as a member of the clan and counted upon as one of the younger generation whose duty it is to perpetuate the family pedigree and the ethnic continuity of the clan. Formerly, when feuds between clans were frequent in rural Fukien, adoption of sons sometimes was one of the means by which a family tried to assure itself of sufficient man-power to defend itself against the adversary.

Other special reasons for the prevalence of adoption should not, however, be overlooked. The emigrant, at the time when he is leaving home, usually is an adolescent or in the early years of manhood. Some will return to the village a few years later to be married, and this is usually the case if they have been successful in business. Others will remain single, especially if they have failed substantially to improve their economic status. Had they stayed at home they probably would have married anyhow, despite their poverty. Since those who return to marry also often go off again without taking their wives and young children, there is an interruption in the usual rhythm of family reproduction customary in rural China. But being in business in the Nan Yang, many of the emigrants after some years find themselves in need of boys to assist them and to succeed them later when they retire, and in many emigrant families the adoption of boys should therefore be looked upon as primarily a device to prepare for the continuance of the business built up abroad.

In this connection, it is also necessary to remember the general lack of appreciation for hygiene in the home villages in China (see Chapter VIII), hence the high infant and child mortality which is apt to eliminate a considerable number of boys—a matter of serious consequence when the father, through continued absence abroad, cannot cohabit with his wife. Families of some means sometimes

adopt boys for the avowed purpose of making up the loss of natural sons owing to death.

The adoption of girls, which is less common, has a rather different social significance. In the more prosperous emigrant families the wife maintains her social prestige by abstaining from such household duties as cooking and cleaning. These tasks are usually entrusted to maids or adopted girls. The latter are sometimes preferred because they cost less. They are usually adopted quite young, and since the family bears the cost of feeding and clothing them during their childhood, it feels under no obligation to pay them for their services in later years. In emigrant families of the poorer class such adopted girls often become the wives of the sons. In these cases the trouble of choosing a wife—possibly for an absent son—is avoided; and, since the question of a marriage gift does not arise, all expenses in connection with the wedding are greatly reduced.

Of late, the adoption of children in some of the emigrant communities has become commercialized by unscrupulous individuals. Children of poor families are kidnapped and secretly offered for sale. Horrible conditions in this respect prevailed not so many years ago in East Kiangsi, South Chekiang, and Northern Fukien, where military operations were of frequent occurrence and where disbanded soldiers and bandits roamed the countryside. In these destitute regions, poverty-stricken parents are sometimes willing to abandon their children in the hope that both their children and they themselves may thus find a better chance to keep alive.

Sometimes adopted girls are well treated. However, they more often live in semi-slavery, especially if they have been kidnapped and sold at a very low figure. In recent years the National Government has repeatedly taken steps to make an end of the sale of children; and public opinion generally is indignant over this illicit and inhumane trade.

THE DIVISION OF PROPERTY

Reference has been made in several places during the preceding discussion to the important part which considerations of property division play in family authority, and in the status which different members of the family occupy. Perhaps a few concrete examples will throw this matter into even greater relief.

If an emigrant householder has, let us say, two sons and one daughter and an estate of \$300,000, he will as likely as not set aside \$80,000 or \$100,000 as a fund for his own maintenance in old age—when the family business will have passed into the hands of his sons or other younger members—and also for his funeral and the subsequent rites in his memory. He will earmark \$10,000 or \$20,000 as a dowry for his daughter. The remainder will be divided into three shares, the son of his wife receiving two, and the son of his concubine one. If the son of the wife has a son, a sum of about \$2,000 will be set aside as an “incense fund” for the boy, so as to make sure of his full participation in the rites of ancestor worship.

From the old-age fund of \$80,000 the head of the household will set aside \$30,000 for living expenses—say \$20,000 for his own, \$5,000 for those of his wife, and \$2,500 each for two concubines. The remaining \$50,000 probably will be invested in real estate, as a fund to perpetuate the veneration of his memory in after years. While he is alive the interest from this fund may be added to defray the living expenses of the old man, of his wife and of his concubines; or the interest may be allowed to accumulate so as to support them if the money set aside for their maintenance should prematurely be exhausted before their death, or if they do not need it to swell the fund available for their commemoration after death. The duties of this pious veneration which as will be seen may in some cases involve the administration of considerable funds, fall on the sons who usually will in rotation take charge of the properties, the income from which is to provide for the expenses.

That family quarrels occasionally rise over these matters goes without saying. To minimize their occurrence, a certain solemnity is often given to the occasion upon which the division of a property takes place. The head of the clan and other distinguished members of the local gentry are invited to serve as witnesses that justice is being done. Such division of the family estate is in accordance with time-honoured custom rather than with law. Recently, under the new civil code, the status of daughters has been greatly changed: she now claims equal rights with mother and brother in the division of the property. In the Nan Yang this more liberal attitude is making considerable headway, though the law as such is by no means generally enforced. An overseas Chinese family often divides the property in equal shares between wife, concubine, wife's son,

wife's daughter, concubine's son and concubine's daughter. In such cases as these, the legal technicalities are observed.

MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS

As in other parts of China that have been affected by modern ideas, there has been considerable change in courtship and marriage. While everywhere in the coast provinces one may observe wide varieties of use, ranging all the way from orthodox observance of ancient custom to Western procedures, the picture is further complicated in the emigrant communities of South China by the diverse influences emanating from the countries of Malaysia. Nevertheless, the age-old folkways still prevail in this matter as in so much else. What is most generally to be observed is not a complete break with them but a slight modification here and there.

Thus, the arrangements for betrothal and marriage, through an intermediary, are in general the same as those in other sections of rural China, and are therefore of no particular interest to our study. However, two features may be noted as especially prevalent here. Reference has already been made to the peasants' reliance on supernatural powers in every serious concern of life. The relative importance of various concerns for the emigrant family which no longer clings to the whole of the religious traditions may, perhaps, be measured by the extent to which in regard to them the old forms are retained. From this point of view, it is significant that in such families the parents often still pray to the Shen to make sure their son will grow up into manhood. When happily he is grown up and about to marry, the parents will arrange a religious ceremony, usually ten days before the wedding, to express their gratitude to the deities. Among the gods evoked on this occasion, Kuan Yin, chief protectress from all ills, the God of Heaven, and the local Tu Ti (spirits of departed dignitaries) are usually included. The other tradition still generally observed is that of paying a sum of money to the family of the bride at the time of the betrothal.

Monetary considerations in marriage are fairly common in all parts of China; in the emigrant communities they are not only more general, but the amounts paid often seem out of all proportion to the economic and social status of the contracting parties. There are of course, special reasons for this. When an emigrant has

made money in the Nan Yang he usually returns to his home village in China to marry a local girl, even though he may already have established a home abroad by cohabiting with a native woman. The union abroad is not usually regarded as a marriage by the folks at home. It may take him years to earn enough money for the Chinese marriage while at the same time carrying on a household abroad, and so he may not be able to marry until he is middle-aged. Such belated marriages are, of course, objectionable to the betrothed girl and her parents, and they have to be suitably compensated. Then again, after marriage, the groom is usually obliged for business reasons to soon again leave the village and his bride. The bride in these circumstances can hardly be expected to be particularly happy, and this expected separation also has to be somewhat compensated for in the pre-marital contract. Again, if for any reason the groom marries again in the Nan Yang, his affection for his Chinese wife is in danger of waning, and there is a risk that his home remittances may after a time diminish or even cease altogether. It will be seen, therefore, that there are certain practical reasons for the relatively high betrothal payments expected by or on behalf of the emigrant son in South China. This tendency is somewhat offset, on the other hand, by the fact that, after all, the emigrant boys are likely to do better for themselves than those who stay at home. In poor families, more especially, marriage with an emigrant may be favoured, not only to provide well for the daughter but also because there is always a chance that through such a connection one of the sons of the family may be able to go to the Nan Yang under promising auspices and make good there. To a lesser degree, the gentry also like to have their daughters marry emigrants, particularly if there are no boys of good family living in the village whose choice for son-in-law might come into question. The motive here is the old one of creating a bond between the rural landed aristocracy and the rich merchant class—even though in this case it involves the absence of the bridegroom overseas.

Not only the betrothal gifts, but most of the other expenses connected with wedlock seem to be somewhat higher in these emigrant communities than in other parts of China among families of similar social standing. The estimates detailed in Table 15 represent averages of actual figures supplied by a number of well informed local men in the course of interviews.

Although no direct comparison is justified, it is obvious that these expenditures are very much higher than those customary in other parts of rural China.⁶⁸

TABLE 15. ESTIMATED MARRIAGE EXPENSES OF MIDDLE- AND LOWER-CLASS EMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS IN EAST KWANGTUNG AND SOUTH FUKIEN

<i>Item</i>	<i>Lower-class household</i>	<i>Middle-class household</i>
Betrothal gift (including six rites)	\$440.00	\$560.00
Jewelry	20.00	60.00
Bridal sedan	20.00	20.00
Clothing	50.00	100.00
Gift for 1st interview	20.00	50.00
Gift for go-between	12.00	48.00
Panicum rice (2 to 5 <i>piculs</i>)	20.00	50.00
Cakes (100 to 200)	20.00	40.00
Rice (3 to 6 <i>piculs</i>)	18.00	54.00
Pork (300 to 500 catties)	72.00	120.00
Fuel and charcoal	20.00	40.00
Vegetables	60.00	150.00
Theatre players (3 to 5 days)	30.00	150.00
Feasts (10 to 30 tables)	100.00	400.00
Rice wine (for 10 to 30 tables)	10.00	40.00
Tobacco, tea, etc.	20.00	100.00
Joss paper, etc.	20.00	40.00
Bedding, furniture	80.00	200.00
Decorations	10.00	50.00
Incidental fees	10.00	50.00
Total	\$1,052.00	\$2,322.00

THE EMIGRANT'S POSITION IN THE FAMILY

The relative youth at which boys leave home is illustrated by Table 16 which shows the age composition of a group of 1,081 emigrants whose age at the time of their departure was ascertained in the course of interviews.

It will be seen that at least two-thirds, and more probably three-

⁶⁸ J. L. Buck mentions \$114.83 as the average cost of weddings in East Central China and \$47.50 as that in North China. (*Chinese Farm Economy*; University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 417). The appalling effect which marriage expenses have on the family budget can best be seen from the table of average monthly expenditures on miscellaneous items, page 155 where the marriage expenses of one family in a hundred are shown to constitute almost one fourth of the total monthly expenditure of all the hundred families together on everything that is not food, clothing or shelter.

fourths, of the emigrants leave home at an age when, under Chinese conditions of family life, they are not heads of households, though many of them may be married. This relative youth of the emigrants might lead one to conclude that, as a group, they are particularly susceptible to foreign influences on their ideas, tastes, and purposes. This tendency is offset, however, by the fact that the emigrant as an individual rarely enters to any very large extent into the life of a foreign community. Even when he does not join an older member of the family abroad, he almost invariably continues to live in a Chinese social environment, usually under a Chinese employer and under circumstances requiring no great changes in his habits, except those demanded by a difference in climate.

TABLE 16. AGE AT TIME OF EMIGRATION

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
10 to 19	410	37.9
20 to 29	504	46.6
30 to 39	130	12.0
40 to 49	29	2.7
50 to 59	7	0.7
Over 60	1	0.1
Total	1081	100.0

Two consequences spring from this situation, both of them further developed in other sections. Because of his youth, the emigrant does not usually in the first years of his absence from home exercise as much influence on the family's mode of living in the South China village as might, perhaps, be concluded from the importance of his contribution to its income. He remains subject to the head of the family, and it is only in the course of years—more especially after he himself has become the recognized head, or on his return has started a household of his own—that he can effectively impress his wishes upon members of the family. Second, the changes which foreign residence produces in the emigrant's own outlook are not only those of personal experience, but largely also those of observation beyond the range of his experience. This perhaps explains to some extent the disparity, frequently noted, between the adoption of the outward appearance of a foreign culture trait and lack of complete appreciation for its content. This is, of course, characteristic of the results of superficial culture contacts

everywhere, and nowhere more so than in the adoption of Eastern customs or articles of use or forms of decoration by the West. The potential encroachment of the emigrant's influence upon the authority traditionally exercised by older members of the family, then, is definitely limited—and this the more if through early marriage and the sacrifices which this entails for the family as a whole, he has given a pledge of continuing loyalty to its corporate welfare on its accustomed terms.

Marriage experience abroad. The scope of the present study does not permit a survey of the exceedingly interesting variations which Chinese marriage customs have undergone in the countries of the Nan Yang. A few of the most important features must be mentioned, however, in as far as they affect the emigrant's marriage in China before he leaves or on his return from abroad.

The colonial governments have long abstained from interfering in any way with the marriage laws and customs prevailing among the Chinese residing under their jurisdiction. They were obliged to take notice of these matters only when questions of property right arising from marriage relations came before the courts, that is, when Chinese communities had become economically important. Since that trend has coincided with a gradual adoption of Western customs by the more prosperous and progressive elements in these Chinese groups, it has been possible in several of the colonies to apply European law to Chinese marriages—at least in part.

This has been done more especially in Netherlands India where the Netherlands civil law was declared applicable to all Chinese subjects in September, 1925, after previously having been applied only in parts of the Indian empire. To be valid, a marriage must be registered. Children born outside such registered marriages can be legitimized only under exceptional conditions. Since Dutch law recognizes only monogamous marriages, the concubine and her children have no legal status. Childless couples may legally adopt children, but such adoptions cannot be revoked.

Early in 1935 when the writer visited West Borneo he observed that the local authorities had some difficulty in trying to enforce the law code, because a majority of the Chinese population there still clung to the traditions of their mother country, more especially those who had come from North and East Kwangtung: Mei Hsien, Chao Chou, and Swatow. Some of the local Chinese were sceptical

about the government's ability to force a distasteful law upon the Chinese of West Borneo.

"Some of us believe that the application of the Dutch civil law to the Chinese here is largely intended to facilitate commercial transactions between Dutch and Chinese, especially to the advantage of the former. Otherwise it would be difficult to see why in this case the need for uniformity of law is stressed while in other respects two systems of law are allowed to continue side by side—one for the Dutch and one for the Chinese—to the great injury of the latter in such things as immigration and criminal law."

This reference to the criminal law related more especially to the fact that the Chinese in West Borneo are in one respect treated the same as the Malays, namely their houses may be searched without warrant. That this is a matter of importance was acknowledged by an eminent Dutch jurist who told the writer: "To search a Chinese house without a warrant is one of the greatest inequalities that still exist in West Borneo in the treatment of Europeans and of Chinese under the criminal law."

In British Malaya, a committee was appointed in 1925 to study the problems connected with Chinese customary law on marriage, concubinage, divorce, and adoption;⁶⁹ and these subjects have since frequently engaged the attention of the Legislative Council. The leading Chinese urge the Government to apply European law to the Chinese community, that is, monogamous marriage with appropriate provision for divorce. In this they seem to have the support of the younger groups among permanent residents of Chinese descent.

In the Philippines, there is a more obvious hiatus between the monogamous law on the statute book and the actual practice in the Chinese community. At the time of the writer's visit which preceded the adoption of the new Constitution, local Chinese feared that any attempt to enforce the provisions of the law then governing marriage in the Philippines would have the effect of breaking up many of the unions between Chinese men and Filipino women.

Generally, the prevalence of the dual marriage system among the well-to-do emigrants, and the different attitudes toward marriage, divorce, the status of wives and children, and other related matters, among the younger and the older people, and among the less and more progressive, complicates the marriage problem in the Nan Yang generally. That this confusion of attitudes is trans-

⁶⁹ Chinese Marriage Committee, *A Report on Matters Concerning Chinese Marriages*. Government Printing Office, Singapore, 1926.

mitted to the home communities in China, there can be no question. In this connection it is worth noting that not all the influences in respect to marriage that come from the Nan Yang are necessarily in the direction of progress. Not only do the more influential emigrants tend to support concubinage and the dual marriage system, but they also tend to perpetuate, because of their greater wealth, customs, particularly as regards the marriage ceremony, which in China might disappear because of poverty and also because of the modern influence emanating from the National Government. Another, though lesser, complicating factor is that local customs also tend to enter into the rites connected with marriage and the attitude which they express. This was symbolized at a wedding which the writer attended in Buitenzorg, Java, by the strange music made during the feast, a mixture, he was told, of Chinese, Javanese, and Hindu elements.

The dual family system. The emigrant who maintains in full loyalty his relations with his family at home in China lives in two worlds. Usually, as we have seen, he leaves at an early age and unmarried. The first few years of his stay abroad are devoted to earning a living and if possible preparing the way for economic independence. As soon as his income exceeds his modest wants he sends money home—in small amounts at first, but at frequent intervals. Normally, unless it belongs to the very poorest class, the family will lay aside a part of these remittances toward the cost of his prospective marriage. Normally, also, the emigrant returns after a few years to be married to a girl selected for him by his parents. Soon after this marriage he will return to the Nan Yang, either to take new employment, or more often to take his place again where he left off. Thereafter, he will visit his parental home, which is also his home and that of his wife, at intervals the length of which varies greatly with his circumstances and with the cost of travel from different parts of the Nan Yang. More often than not it is during this period, especially if he succeeds in establishing some small business of his own, that he will take a second wife, who may be a Malay woman. Although such out-marriages are quite common among the Chinese in many parts of the world, they are nevertheless disliked in the Chinese community at large.

"The Chinese mores are very unfavourable to marriage with non-Chinese. Their situation in Hawaii was, for the early immigrants, usually favourable

to such marriage. Their actual marriage practice, extending over a period of more than eighty years, has varied to correspond with their changing situation in Hawaii."⁷⁰

This statement, made for Hawaii, is equally true of the Nan Yang. Inter-marriage occurs most often in the early stages of settlement when few Chinese women are available to form a household. Later on, wealthy Chinese in the Nan Yang, though married to a Chinese woman in their place of residence, may on occasion take a non-Chinese concubine, but this type of union is of an entirely different character and has not, for the Chinese community, the same objection as the choice of a Malay woman to preside over a Chinese household. The older established and more prosperous Chinese are themselves most adverse to the marriage of non-Chinese women by their sons; and this is true as much in the Nan Yang as it is in Hawaii.

"Among those Chinese who have achieved a good status in this developing Chinese community, there is a definite attitude adverse to out-marriage. When a son or a daughter in such a family is married to a non-Chinese there is the most severe parental disapproval."⁷¹

TABLE 17. FIRST AND LATER MARRIAGES OF CHINESE IN THE NAN YANG⁷²

	<i>First marriage</i>	<i>Second and later marriages</i>
With Chinese girl in China	652	91
With Malay girl in the Nan Yang	24	41
With foreign-born Chinese girl in the Nan Yang	21	17
Total	697	149

Table 17 shows that in the great majority of cases marriage to a girl at home, chosen usually by the parents to perpetuate the family, precedes marriage in the Nan Yang where such takes place.

⁷⁰ Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1937, p. 142.

⁷¹ Romanzo Adams, op. cit., p. 153.

⁷² From data gathered in 1934 and 1935 in an important emigrant community near Swatow. With the prevalent criticism of dual marriage among Chinese of modern education, and the more widespread dislike for marriages with non-Chinese, it is probable that the number of marriages in the Nan Yang is considerably understated. The figures may not be typical also for the reason that emigration from this community is, in the main, to Siam (32 of the non-Chinese brides being Siamese and 9 Annamite) and therefore not necessarily representative of marriage conditions among Chinese in other parts of the Nan Yang. *The Editor*.

The motive for marriage abroad is not simply that of physical comfort. The Chinese are generally quite tolerant of non-marital relations of young men with non-Chinese women. It is rather that the emigrant, even after he has been in business for some years, usually knows very little of the native language and customs and therefore finds it to his advantage to marry a girl who can help him in his business. Only a few will be able to marry girls from Chinese families, born overseas, who have that knowledge. Hence the large number of marriages with Malay girls, despite the obvious inconveniences and, frequently, the disapproval of the family at home. The native women, on their part, are not adverse to Chinese husbands because these stand out by their business acumen, their industry, and their ability to support their families. Although the twice-married emigrant supports two homes, and at times finds this burden too much for him, it is more often the wife in the Chinese village rather than the partner in his life abroad who finds herself deserted, a result of years of separation and a gradual alienation of affection—if, indeed, there was affection at the start. In emigrant community Z the head of one family, who resided in Siam, had been directly heard from three times in thirteen years; in another case, a husband who lived in Bangkok had written only twice in twenty-one years. Nevertheless, mothers and wives in China often express themselves as entirely satisfied with the son's or husband's second matrimonial venture in the Nan Yang. Thus, in one family where two of the absent sons had married Siamese girls, the mother expressed herself as well pleased with their choice—and this because she had noticed that Siamese wives often exert an excellent influence over their husbands. In the same way an intelligent younger woman often fully appreciates why it is desirable or even necessary for her husband to have another wife overseas. One such woman in one of the emigrant villages explained:

"My husband has been in business in Siam for many years. His store is in the interior in the mountains where it is difficult to get about. He must have relations with the Siamese in innumerable ways. Therefore, his Siamese wife must be of great help to him, both in his business and in social affairs."

One remarkable feature of the situation is that the head of the family, unless he has become completely alienated from those at home in China, which is rare, almost invariably plans to return

to his home at least in old age, so as to be buried there with his ancestors. When this comes to pass a non-Chinese wife seldom accompanies him. Ignorance of the language and the colder climate are often mentioned as sufficient explanations of her inability to do so. In earlier years, however, her sons are often sent to China to be educated there. Thus one sees many boys of partly Malay blood in the emigrant villages, and particularly in the schools maintained with gifts from the successful members of the community who live abroad. Daughters of such marriages are seldom sent to China. Their chances of a suitable marriage are obviously better in the overseas community where they were born—with its surplus of Chinese men—than in the village in South China. Moreover, as a rule the emigrant who is married to a Malay woman makes adequate arrangements for the support of his wife and daughters before he retires to his native home.

The fact that the foreign wives so rarely accompany their husbands to China is the reason why dual marriage produces less domestic discord than off-hand one might expect. A rare instance of complete accord in a household including both wives was told by a teacher in South Fukien:

"At one time, a Filipino woman came to this village with her Chinese husband who was born here, to help him find a Chinese girl to marry. For some reason the husband, after this second marriage, did not return to the Philippines but settled here with his two wives. The two women lived in the same house and got on very well with each other. Later the husband died, and each of them was left with two children. The property was equally divided among them—they say this was required under American law. But the eldest son also obtained control of the fund set aside to insure family worship, and so Chinese custom which favours the eldest-born was also satisfied at least in part."

THE EMIGRANTS' INFLUENCE ON FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Apart from the contribution of his own example, the emigrant also sets going other influences which tend to change age-old ideas and customs in his home village. This is no less true of the central features of the social system than it is of the less significant material culture considered in the previous chapter. If he has had much foreign experience he almost invariably condemns the traditional family arrangement. Thus a tin miner from Malaya, returning to China in his old age, declared with some emphasis:

"The joint family is an obnoxious social institution. When a member of such a family earns money he is obliged to support all the rest of it and to carry a heavy economic burden. I have had very bitter experience and always feel that I am virtually a slave of my family. They are of no help to me at all."

With their knowledge of other possible arrangements learned abroad, many emigrants predict an early disintegration of the traditional large family in South China. With two sons still living in the Nan Yang, a mother said:

"Life in the modern world is a complicated affair. Living together in one large family as we did when I was young seems to be no longer practicable nowadays. With all the improved means of communication, railway, steamer and automobile, the members of the family are continually separated and brought together again, only to be again dispersed. Family solidarity in these conditions is rapidly disappearing."

At the bottom of the discontent is the new conception, gained through foreign experience, of what marriage may mean in modern life as compared with its traditional function in Chinese society. An emigrant returned from Singapore expressed this in rather a typical form:

"The traditional marriage should be reformed. The ceremony itself should be simplified. But that is not all. According to my observation, the European kind of marriage is more civilized than our Chinese. In the West, they have friendship and romance; love enters into courtship and sometimes leads to marriage. Homes are happy because they are based on love. In China, according to the old use, husband and wife often do not even know each other before they are married. There is no friendship between them, much less love. When marriage is contracted under these circumstances it is a mere matter of chance whether harmony and happiness result. A friend of mine was married to a woman who suffered from consumption. Before the marriage he was entirely ignorant of the fact. How could such a marriage turn out happily?"

Though many emigrants are thus opposed to the traditional marriage, few of them are in a position to do anything about it. Age-old traditions are difficult to modify. Sometimes the young man comes home earnestly seeking a different kind of marriage for himself than that which he has observed in other Chinese families, but at once he comes up against a bulwark of resistance in his home—if not on the part of his parents then on that of other older and respected members of the family. Not being a

person of particular influence in the family circle he quite naturally and unconsciously falls back into the old attitudes and adopts the old mode of life.

Gradually, however, a new kind of marriage is coming into being, nevertheless. Those emigrants who have had the opportunity of a modern education are more obdurate in their opposition to the old-type marriage. In 1934, a noteworthy case came to the attention of the writer. In Amoy the daughter of a millionaire who lived in Manila had at the age of seventeen been betrothed by her parents to the son of a distinguished family of local gentry. The girl had attended a modern school. On her wedding day she disappeared. Later on, in an interview, she explained: "Of course, I do not want to marry him. His education has been far inferior to mine; and I know nothing of his temperament and interests."

Even on the matter of race mixture the attitudes of the emigrants are gradually making themselves felt in the home communities of South China. As has already been mentioned, old-fashioned people entirely disapprove of it, partly on practical grounds of non-compatibility, but also because they fear that interference with the pure blood stream of the family through the generations may disturb its inner harmony with the seen and unseen world. This regard for purity of blood is greatest, of course, in historic families which trace their pedigrees back for many generations. But there are also parents, as yet in a minority, who take a more tolerant view. "Times have changed," one hears such persons say, "and old people should not interfere with the marriage of their children, especially when these are living over the sea."

Then there is the influence of the foreign-born Chinese wives who on occasion accompany their husbands on their visits to the home village in China. Though not many of them may do so, they are in the position, often, of the "rich 'in law' from overseas" whose tastes are studied and whose words are listened to with respect. In formal appearance, these marriages between emigrants and Chinese girls of the Nan Yang usually show the characteristics of the traditional Chinese marriage; but there is often quite a difference in the spirit of the courtship and in the kind of home relations that develop after marriage. There tends to be more equality between the sexes; and the relative freedom which the scarcity of eligible Chinese girls gives them in choosing their hus-

bands also contributes toward giving them a spirit of greater independence in the subsequent marriage relation. Moreover, an ever growing number of these girls have been educated in European and Chinese schools and thus have a widened and more modern outlook. If after marriage they are taken to China by their husbands they often find it very difficult to accommodate themselves to the different conditions of family life there. Thus, a Singapore merchant, after marrying a Baba girl, took her to his ancestral village near Chao Chou. Before she had been there very long the wife urged that the family property which had been held in common for three generations be divided, so that she and her husband could set up and finance their own separate small-family household. Complaining about her "un-Chinese" attitude, the head of this patriarchal family wrote to a kinsman in the Nan Yang:

"Our nephew M. has returned to China on March 15th with his bride who is a Baba girl of Singapore. She is wearing clothes of modern cut and has been to school. In less than twenty days after her arrival she has persuaded her husband to divide the family property with me. Nephew M. has no mind of his own and now tries to force me to accept this proposal. The two are working together very well; but they don't understand our local customs of long standing. They are causing me great anxiety. I shall try to hold off a decision until you come back and I can explain the whole matter to you."

Even when no crisis develops like that described in this letter, the family relations are radically altered by the attitude which the foreign born Chinese daughter-in-law assumes toward her place in the household. She has either had a school education or has had experience of earning money as a girl. In either case, she has developed her personality in ways not accessible as a rule to girls in the Chinese village. When she marries it is because she desires a home of her own. Her social position as a married woman thus is assured before she leaves her own circle in the Nan Yang. Then she comes to a village in South China and there, under the old mores, is expected to serve her parents-in-law. Already this old custom is honoured more in the breach than in its observance; the old couple and the young rarely live together as they used to do in the old days. The mother of an emigrant who had recently returned from Java showed her approval of this change when she said:

"I feel that my son, when he has taken the initiative in getting married, should also have the liberty after marriage of establishing with his wife the sort of home they want; this can only make for the happiness of the couple and of the whole family."

Often the emigrant son and his foreign-born Chinese wife take special pains, on their visit to the old home in China, not to make departures from the old customs and forms of behaviour more drastic than they need be. Thus some of the foreign-born Chinese wives, and even some of the non-Chinese brides, after their marriage often show respect to the parents of their husband. Says the mother of an emigrant:

"Often in the last ten years or so I have been worried about my son in the Nan Yang. Recently my eldest son died in Bangkok, but already his Siamese widow has written me several times and has sent me money. She understands what filial piety means. My second son also is in business in Siam. His wife has not written me for a long time. I am afraid she has a bad influence on my son and is alienating his affection from me."

Such naive instances as that just quoted, and others referred to in earlier pages of the mixture of parental concern and very practical financial concern, could be multiplied indefinitely to illustrate the gradual disintegration of the traditional family through the change of the personal relations between its members brought about by emigration. This is a situation charged with conflict and with tragedy. Some of the parents expect their children to be loyal to the family in the old ways even when they have lived for many years in the Nan Yang. Members of the younger generation, on the other hand, through prolonged residence abroad have considerably changed their general social outlook, and this change cannot help but be reflected also in their attitude toward their parents. Through contact with the members of other races, many Chinese in the Nan Yang have come to feel what for China at large is as yet an almost revolutionary break with tradition: that other peoples have a philosophy of life which is different from that of their own and yet not necessarily inferior. This recognition precipitates a change in their behaviour. An emigrant who has lived in Batavia for many years expressed it in the following homely and concrete terms:

"One of my friends told me the other day about a certain Dutch engineer in a sugar refining company with which he has dealings. This engineer, it

appears, has had a savings account of his own ever since he graduated from college. He does not send his savings to his father, and so, as his savings have accumulated over a good many years, he is now able to buy himself a house and an automobile. A Chinese of similar attainments would have acted quite differently. He would all these years have remitted the larger part of his savings to his parents, and he would probably be as poor today as on the day when he started on his career. Personally, I prefer the Dutch way."

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

WHEN MANY individual members of a community have undergone a change in outlook similar to that just quoted and, on returning from many years of life abroad, bring a new social vision to bear upon the problems of their home town, things are bound to happen. Their influence will be all the greater because the home community itself has not remained untouched by the breath of new purpose which has stirred so freely through Chinese life since the early days of the Republic. Thus we have in the region under survey a situation of change where education, in addition to its other functions, must also be counted upon to increase the adaptability of the community to new conditions and new needs. Much that has been written about Chinese education in recent years has been beside the point. Whether the provision for formal education in a given community is adequate cannot be measured by reference to extraneous standards. It depends on the degree to which, in the actual situation and with the available means, it raises the community's ability to cope with the tasks which it confronts. These tasks are those of the community at large and also those of the individuals that compose it. It is the divergence of the social stake in education from the purpose of individuals and small groups which makes the school problem of these emigrant communities in South China even more difficult than that of others. For, very often the formal schooling which we find in these towns and villages is inspired more by a desire to prepare youth for successful careers abroad than by any desire for a direct reaction upon the community itself.

While, therefore, a false idealism must not prevent our recognition of the fact that recent educational developments in South China often have been inspired by motives distinctly deriving from class and group purposes, nevertheless they have often been animated by a public spirit going far beyond the bounds of these more limited

loyalties. Considering the life activities and typical experiences of the Southern Chinese in the Nan Yang—more especially the fact that until recently they have usually gone forth with very little formal education and that their opportunities in foreign lands have been limited in many ways—it must be conceded that their influence on the home communities has been remarkable; and this influence has been exerted largely through the building of schools and the provision of other educational facilities.

In a later chapter we shall see how much returned emigrants have contributed by the example of their own lives toward changing the prevalent attitudes toward education. In the development of railways and industries, in the introduction of modern banks, in architecture and the use of new building materials, in the engineering of roads and bridges, and in many other ways, their own experience and knowledge acquired abroad, together with their savings, have contributed to the material progress of South China. This application of their own trained ability and intelligence to the problems of their homeland must, therefore, be given first place, particularly when it is remembered that each of the modern enterprises which such men engage in or encourage provides a multitude of opportunities for others to gain knowledge and skill conducive to a general rise of the level of accomplishments. Much more attention has been paid, generally, to the striking physical reminders of the emigrants' faith in education, the many new schools which their money has helped to build, schools which often are in their entirety the gifts of individuals and partially or entirely maintained by the original donors. Less spectacular have been gifts of school materials and the influence of emigrants on the course of study itself and on the appointment of teachers.

AIMS OLD AND NEW

AIMS OF TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

It would be a mistake, in view of what has just been said, to think that in the emigrant communities of South China an entirely new educational philosophy and policy confronts one steeped in out-moded tradition. After all, the process of infiltration of new ideas has been going on for some time. Reflecting the degrees to which different sections of the population have remained remote from the

currents of new ideas, there are schools of different degrees of modernity: the entirely traditional one, based on reverence for the old classical learning; the entirely new and modern one, built, equipped and run on some foreign model or in close imitation of the schools in the large Chinese cities, Shanghai and Canton; and the school which in the simplest and most direct way takes up the task of preparing youngsters for a business career in the Nan Yang. There are also other types, each representing the stage reached in the emancipation of the community's leaders from age-old tradition.

Normally, no technical trade instruction is attempted; and tradition survives even in modern schools to the extent of a neglect of manual training above the kindergarten grades and emphasis on book learning. Nearly always, since the school does not yet often reach the poorer classes, one of the principal motives is to prepare the pupils for a business career. This has been the major motive for so long, that one may say that in these emigrant communities, along with the classics, commercial subjects—or the rudiments of knowledge necessary for their mastery—have long been considered essentials of school education. Many remarks casually thrown out in the course of our interviews indicate this truth: "I hope my boys will learn something at school that will fit them for business and help them to make money." "I expect the boys will later be engaged in trade and the girls will become teachers. Let them both earn their living with the knowledge they have gained at school." "At school, the pupils should learn the use of the abacus and how to write letters and keep accounts." "When my son has finished primary school, I shall send him to Siam to go into business." "After graduation, boys should be able to make money. A girl should be fitted by education to help her husband in business after she gets married."

These statements are similar to answers given by hundreds of parents, and clearly indicate what they consider to be the chief aims of education. Their views, one need hardly add, are at wide variance with those of the average parent in other rural areas of China. It is noteworthy, for example, that nowadays the overseas Chinese usually insist on giving the same rudimentary schooling which boys receive to girls also. This is evidently a result of personal experience abroad where the woman often is an indispensable business partner of her husband.

The majority of the emigrants have had very little or no schooling before going abroad. An inquiry into the educational status of 845 emigrants in East Kwangtung showed that 378 of them had been taught by an old-time village tutor, 161 had gone to a modern school, 146 had had a certain amount of teaching, but did not indicate its precise character, and 160 had had no schooling at all. It is reasonably certain that until quite recently the average emigrant was a man of no education at all, or one who had had a very inadequate school training before leaving home. Against this handicap we have the fact that emigrants are, as a rule, energetic young persons full of the spirit of adventure. Through long and persistent struggle some of them have become successful in various walks of life. Recalling their own past experience or that of their friends, many of them realize that lack of education has been a definite obstacle to advance; and so, when they grow old, they often urge their children or other young people who contemplate emigration first to go to school. A returned emigrant once expressed this view to the writer:

"More than forty years ago I was one of five young men who went from the same village to the Nan Yang. One went to Batavia. He was illiterate and quite unsuccessful in business there. Later he changed his occupation three times. Today he is a carpenter and earns barely enough to support himself. His family largely depends on help from his parental cousin who owns a grocery store in Pontianak, West Borneo.

"Another one of us village boys was very active. At first he became an apprentice at his uncle's store in Batavia. Having had five years of schooling at home in China, he could read and write and use the abacus. He soon became a useful employee, and his wages steadily increased. His uncle entrusted him with all the correspondence of the shop. His business acquaintances increased in number and importance. One friend wrote him from Kuala Lumpur in the Straits Settlements and asked him to become partner in a tin mining enterprise there. He accepted this offer and has since been quite successful, for he has friends who are in close touch with the tin market abroad and gets information from them in addition to that to be gained from reading newspapers and trade magazines."

Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. Some of the Chinese overseas have had occasion to observe that the superior business organization and technique of the Europeans is not merely a matter of greater capital resources, but at least in part due to their previous training. Hence, the emigrants have, by and large,

acquired a profound faith in education and will as a rule make large sacrifices so that their children may receive the benefit of schooling.

A striking illustration of this came to the writer's attention during a visit to French Indo-China in 1935. Here he had an opportunity of reading forty-three letters received between March, 1934, and February, 1935, by a young emigrant who was attending school in Cholon—the great Chinese settlement outside Saigon—from an older brother who for many years had been in business in Tourane, Annam. Among other things, these letters discussed striving for knowledge (in ten letters), need for frugality (in eight), for perseverance (in three), for reading certain publications so as to increase his general knowledge (in two). This series of letters plainly emphasizes two virtues to which the Chinese have for centuries attached high value, namely frugality and onward struggle under adverse circumstances. This family has many kinsmen in one of the emigrant communities in South China covered by our survey, and is still in constant touch with them after a long absence. It so happened that at the time of this correspondence the family was experiencing financial difficulties both in China and abroad. This perhaps explains why the advice to "carry on" and to seek new opportunities for self-elevation through education so often recurs in the letters from the Nan Yang to the relatives in the home village. The following quotation is made up of portions from three of these letters:

"We are just trying to get money to pay the poll taxes which amount to several hundred piastres. We do not know how and when we can raise all this money. Your school expenses also are important, and your requests for money have caused us great anxiety. During the present depression life is difficult. My sympathies are with you at this time of financial difficulty. To be able to attend school under these unfavourable conditions, you must work exceptionally hard. Time is precious, and money is hard to earn. You must make good use of the money which is, so to speak, the reward of our sweat and blood. You must struggle now in order to be successful in the future.

"The package of books which you sent on the 28th has been forwarded home. The money which Uncle gave you was intended for your tuition, books, and other necessary expenses. You must be frugal and try to get on with your studies as fast as possible. Chinese, English, French and mathematics are fundamental subjects to which you should pay special attention. I now regret that in my younger days I did not study foreign languages. If my finances permit, I will support you until you graduate from a university.

"You should obey the rules of the school and avoid *frivolity, idleness and absence from classes*. The handwriting in your last letter was poor; but this is excusable since you said you were then preparing for a monthly test. Good handwriting is like neat clothing; it gives a man a pleasing appearance. I myself am practising calligraphy every day.

"Is the trouble at school settled now? Don't permit yourself to be disturbed in your work by talk about communism and other unworthy subjects. You should look to the development of your personality and try to be a good student. In your last letter you said you wanted to buy rubber shoes. Your third brother is willing to let you have his pair, and so you should save the money.

"Have you made any progress in Chinese, English, French and mathematics? If you have any money left you should buy a purse for your third brother and some dress material for your sister; they are badly in need of these things."

The emigrant families in China have become thoroughly infected with this enthusiasm for education. Table 18 shows that more than one-third of them spend money on education, a proportion twice as large as among the non-emigrant families, and the average amount spent during the year of budgetary recording was twelve times as large in amount and four or five times as large in proportion to the total expenditures on miscellaneous items (i.e., other than food, clothing and shelter).

It is clear that many of the emigrant families must economize on other expenses—one of them seems to be care of health—to keep their children at school. The average figures cover up rather than reveal the reality of the sacrifices required when several children have to be sent to school, particularly when, as is sometimes the case, the absent breadwinner in the Nan Yang, though he may be urging the necessity of a school education for the younger members of the family, fails to add the whole cost of school fees, books, extra clothing, etc., to the amount he remits to support the family. Thus, for example, one of the households included in this study has five children at school. The oldest, eighteen years old, a son of the head of the family, attends a middle school in Shanghai, and his expenses are paid directly by his father from Siam. In the meantime the wife in the South China village keeps four nephews at the local schools, two in the middle school and two in the grammar school. Their school expenses, amounting to about \$700 a year, have to come out of her household allowance.

TABLE 18. MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURES OF 100 FAMILIES OF EACH CLASS
In the Emigrant Community (October, 1934, to September, 1935) and in the Non-emigrant Community
(March, 1935, to February, 1936)

Item	No. of families having such expense during year of study		Average Monthly expense per family (Chinese dollars)		Per cent	
	Em.	Non-Em.	Em.	Non-Em.	Em. (a)	Non-Em. (b)
Health	52	75	0.17	0.24	1.2	1.6
Education	34	16	1.28	0.10	9.2	12.0
Taxes	44	47	0.66	0.36	4.7	6.1
Recreation	19	8	0.05	0.01	0.4	0.5
Gifts	34	5	0.69	0.07	5.0	6.4
House furnishings	46	26	0.55	0.17	4.0	5.1
Smoking and drinking	27	54	0.46	0.13	3.3	4.3
Social entertainment	24	2	0.21	0.01	1.5	2.0
Marriage	1	—	3.20	—	23.0	—
Car fares, etc.	20	52	0.02	0.12	0.1	0.2
Religious practices	92	91	0.36	2.50	2.6	3.4
Miscellaneous	75	27	6.26	0.56	45.0	58.4
Total	100	100	13.91*	4.25	100.0	100.0

* This average figure is slightly different from that given in a previous table, as a different method was adopted to compute averages.

(a) Including marriage expenses of one family.

(b) Excluding marriage expenses which distort the average for the group as a whole. See footnote 68, p. 136.

That only 34 of the 100 emigrant families have expenses for education does not necessarily mean that the others have no children, grandchildren, or other members of the household who are of school age. What has been said about the general enthusiasm for education shown by Chinese who live abroad should not be interpreted as though there were none among them who are lukewarm and even adverse in their opinions on the subject. In fact, there is among the emigrants and those who have returned from overseas a strong minority who are exceedingly sceptical concerning the benefits of schooling. They have noticed that some of their friends who were good students have achieved no outstanding success later in business life, and they have observed that some of those who went abroad entirely illiterate have nevertheless become prosperous merchants. A man returned from Penang in the Straits Settlements who himself was unable to read or write told the writer the following story:

"A friend of mine who as a youth was hard pushed by poverty, followed his father to Singapore to be apprenticed to a relative who owned a store there. He was fourteen years old at the time. His father who was only an employee in the same store died eleven years later, and my friend took his place. Soon he had saved enough to open a rice shop of his own in Singapore, and later on two more in the same city, with either a branch or an agency also in Saigon, Bangkok, Batavia, and Hong Kong. His business did well, and at each store he employed some one to keep his accounts and write his letters for him. He is now an old man and very rich. As far as I know, he still needs a secretary to write his letters home for him."

To summarize: there are two strong traditional aims of education in the emigrant community. There remains here, as in other Chinese communities, a remnant of the old high regard for a literary education, associated often with family pride in the political offices held by their ancestors and with religious and aesthetic sentiments. Tutors of the old school are still employed, especially in gentry families, and there are small schools conducted on the old model—a little more shabby perhaps than such schools used to be, yet not without their patrons, especially among those inhabitants who have had no direct contact with the ideas of the world outside. Then there are the schools which reflect the educational needs of some of the more prosperous emigrants who need clerks and shop assistants and bookkeepers, usually younger members of their own family, with enough practical knowledge to be of some help in business, and if possible a smattering of foreign languages. These schools,

then, in the main, serve preparation for a business career, though few of their pupils advance to the point where technical business courses would be called for. This second type of school is the most numerous and, in many of the emigrant communities, the most flourishing. It is not, however, what the more progressive of the emigrants themselves would call a modern school.

AIMS OF THE NEW EDUCATION

The more thoughtful Chinese in the overseas communities are beginning to look upon education not merely as a preparation for life, but as a function of life itself. They are not satisfied with schools that do no more than impart to the students some rudiments of knowledge that will help the graduates to earn a living, but demand that the schools should also enlighten them on the elements of civilization and give them an attitude receptive to new ideas. The overseas Chinese who have this new outlook are admittedly not numerous, yet they are to be met with in practically every large Chinese settlement of the Nan Yang and in many of the home communities.

A wealthy Singapore merchant who had spent both his money and his energy on opening schools in Singapore and in his old home village in South Fukien, had a very broad view of education. According to him, its aim should be the development of the individual in various capacities so as to enable him not only to make his living but also to take an active part in developing the arts and sciences for the good of the Chinese nation. His philosophy of education is revealed in the following statement:

"Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty (at the beginning of the present century), when the Fukienese leaders in Singapore were enthusiastic for educational progress, we procured the site for a school and the money for teaching and maintenance, also for the free tuition of a certain number of pupils. When we looked for teachers, we found that among a very large number of Fukienese in Singapore there were only two who were qualified to teach, and both of these unfortunately were at the time otherwise employed. We were compelled to write to Shanghai for teachers to staff our first school. I said to myself: this is a painful situation; the great majority of our compatriots are engaged in business, and only a ridiculously small number are interested in culture. But if money-making overshadows all other activities in our lives, then life is hardly worth living. Some day if I have money enough I will encourage the establishment of schools that will bring about a change in men's outlook.

"Shortly afterwards, my financial status did improve, and I sent money to South Fukien to open a primary school. There I found the same shortage of teachers which we had experienced here; so I at once established a normal school in the village to train them.

"For me, education has a profound meaning. I firmly believe in national salvation through education. I think there is a close relationship between livelihood and the philosophy of life. The school should give people the elementary knowledge which will help them to earn their living. But it should not stop there. It should help people to fulfill their larger duties to society and nation. For instance, although Fukien is mountainous and much of it unsuitable for cultivation, it is rich in minerals, forests, and aquatic resources. To exploit this natural wealth scientifically, special techniques are required which can be produced only by higher education. The educated people should feel it duty bound to develop these natural resources.

"And even that is not enough. We should produce leaders who not only have superior knowledge, but also fine character. On their shoulders should rest the undeniable responsibility for raising the status of Chinese civilization."

This statement presents a view of Chinese education that is as yet rare. Daring thinkers, though small in number, are gradually making themselves felt—are gradually ushering in a new day. In Bangkok some years ago a wealthy Chinese merchant in rice and groceries sent his son back to Swatow to attend middle school. Some time later, the son was asked to look after the father's business in Siam. Finding that commerce did not interest him, the son returned to China and went to a Chinese university to pursue humanistic studies. After graduation, he opened a normal school in Swatow. Renouncing the easy life he could have led by simply succeeding his father in the family business, this young man braved all sorts of difficulties in order to put into practice what the proponents of the new education advocate.

THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL AIM

Since educational advance in the Chinese home communities arises almost wholly from the experience of their more influential sons abroad, we must look in the Nan Yang for the main cause of the change in attitude toward education which is undoubtedly, if slowly, taking place. That change is to be found in the growing realization of thoughtful Chinese in the Nan Yang that, excluded from many opportunities of higher education in the adopted land, they must seek to relate their own cultural aspirations to those of their homeland.

Generally speaking, society in the Nan Yang is divided into three sections, Europeans, Malays, and "Oriental foreigners"—that is, chiefly Chinese. Between these sections there is little social intercourse, but there is between them a symbiotic relationship, which, no doubt, is useful to all three of them. Though social contacts of a friendly or intimate nature rarely cross the race lines, the three groups are inter-dependent in their economic life. Often an indispensable factor in the colonial economy, the Chinese community almost everywhere in the Nan Yang is, from the standpoint of cultural belonging, isolated from the European on the one hand and from the indigenous on the other. A well-known Peranakan Chinese who teaches school in Java on one occasion expressed this as follows:

"Because of differences in language and culture, the Chinese remain largely unassimilated to the Europeans. Though the great majority of us can speak the Malay language, we can see no profit for us in adopting the native culture in its totality. It is so very much simpler than that of the Chinese. Culturally, then, we are isolated. Very naturally, therefore, we fall back upon the maintenance and development of Chinese culture as the only road to progress that is open to us."

With these premises, it is easy to understand why the Chinese schools overseas show as a rule so much enthusiasm for the study of China's ancient civilization. A Peranakan Chinese of Java, whose people had emigrated from South Fukien more than a hundred years ago, told the writer:

"When at the very beginning of the present century the Chung Hua Hui Kuan (Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan) began to encourage education but did not at first open regular schools, the colonial government did not extend educational opportunities to the Chinese in Java, except to the children of a few chosen Chinese leaders, the captains and lieutenants. After Mr. K'ang Yu-wei's visit in 1903, some of our leaders were greatly encouraged and had a deeper appreciation for Chinese civilization. Gradually more of the Chinese here began to study Confucianism, especially the views set forth in the *New Confucianism* by the eminent scholar Cheng Hsiao-shu. In a way, this interest is being kept up, as shown by the increase of Chinese studies in the Chinese schools.

"Some observers have commented that the Chinese in Netherlands India are in some ways exceptionally sympathetic toward China and Chinese culture. This is true, and the result of circumstances. Since we are assimilated neither to the European culture nor to the native culture, we can only uphold the historical civilization of our fathers. The Chinese of Dutch Guiana (Surinam) who are living in a social environment different from ours have

shown a more indifferent attitude toward China. When some of their young people were studying in Holland, they even refused to become members of the Chung Hua Hui, the centre of Chinese education. From this it is clear that the nationalist sentiment of the Chinese in Netherlands India cannot truthfully be attributed to propaganda by the Kuomintang as the most important cause."

As a matter of fact, nationalism is characteristic not only of the Chinese in Netherlands India, but is rather widespread throughout the Nan Yang. A salesman for a certain Chinese rubber factory in Singapore said:

"Since I graduated from the Chinese school, I have become more and more sympathetic toward China. I hope that our countrymen at home will wholeheartedly co-operate one with another to save the country in this national crisis. I have been living in the Nan Yang for many years, and I admire the colonial administration for its ability to maintain peace and safety and to conduct clean politics. But I hope that political stability will soon prevail in China, too, so that China may steadily advance on the road toward becoming a strong nation."

Other Chinese emigrants express their patriotism in more tangible ways. The following is a typical statement of this sort:

"When in 1931 I read in the newspaper that the Japanese had occupied Manchuria, I got some of my friends to contribute more than a hundred dollars. This represented about one-fifth of our salaries for one month. We sent the money to the soldiers who had been wounded in their attempt to defend their country.

"When the Tsinan incident occurred in Shantung (May 3rd, 1928), I had just returned to the Nan Yang from Amoy. I at once sent back more than \$30. I want to see a strong China, for I am convinced that a weak nation and its people are despised by others. To get over that weakness will require the concerted efforts of all its citizens."

These quotations must suffice here to indicate the nature of the experiences that have turned the attention of thoughtful Chinese residents in the Nan Yang to one outstanding means at their disposal of safeguarding the cultural survival of their group without sacrificing possibilities of economic and social advancement. It would lead us too far in connection with our present theme—the influence exerted by these emigrants on education in their home communities in China—to examine more in detail what these experiences overseas have been and how they have led, not only to a general interest in education, but to the adoption of a particular educational philosophy. This matter, however, is of such fundamental importance

to the whole range of modern developments in South China that a closer inquiry into it is indicated. For this reason, the interested reader is referred to Appendix B, which presents a more coherent though necessarily brief account of the history of education in the Chinese communities of the Nan Yang.

SCHOOLS IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY X

Education in this community owes almost everything to the initiative and sacrifice of one rich emigrant who now lives in Singapore. Since 1912, he has opened and until recently maintained seven schools, all situated within a radius of about two miles. On these schools he had by 1935 spent over four million dollars. In the order of the date of opening, the seven schools are: a primary school for boys (1912), a primary school for girls (1917), a middle school (1918), a normal school of middle-school standing (1918), a kindergarten connected with the girls' school (1919), a commercial middle school (1920), a marine middle school (1920), and an agricultural middle school (1925). In the spring of 1935, these seven schools had a total staff of 183 and an enrolment of 1,373 students. Of the latter, 588, or 42 per cent, came from emigrant families. The majority of the pupils enter school when they are about eight years old and stay through the middle school. Among the emigrant families a relatively larger number of children start with the kindergarten. Education from kindergarten through middle school is for the most part free.

Generally speaking, girls are kept at school longer than boys, the latter being usually sent to the Nan Yang to be apprenticed as soon as they have finished the grammar grades. Another reason, further to be commented upon below, is that higher education definitely improves the marriage chances for girls in these families.

The following school record of the 224 emigrant families in X is remarkable when compared with any similar mixed group of households that might be taken anywhere in rural China, as regards social and economic status: in 132 of these families all children of school age had been or are at school; in 72 families the parents intend to send their children to school as soon as they are old

enough; only in 16 have children of school age not been to school, and for 4 families no information could be obtained.⁷³

Adult education. In 1917, an evening school for adult males was opened, and more than a hundred attended the classes. In 1922, an evening school for adult women was established and in the spring of 1935 had an enrolment of about 80 students who attended about two hours every evening. This school had five teachers who taught three classes in the higher primary grades and four in the lower primary grades. Its annual cost was \$300.

Of the heads of the 224 emigrant families, 118 have attended school, 62 have been taught by a village tutor, 32 have had no formal education, and for 12 no data could be obtained.

School and society. Although no direct relationship of cause and effect can be proved, it is to be noted that since the establishment of the schools a number of improvements have taken place in the community which give evidence of a progressive spirit. This is true more especially in the matter of public health, as seen in a noticeable decrease of communicable diseases, particularly cholera, smallpox, and bubonic plague. The school hospital and dispensary have popularized both modern hygiene and Western medicine. Another evidence of that spirit is the improvement of existing roads between this community and neighbouring towns and villages, and the construction of new ones. A more direct connection is to be seen in an administrative measure of great benefit to the community: its recognition by the provincial authorities in 1923 as a "school community". In that year South Fukien was in military conflict with Kwangtung, and the school grounds were occupied by the Kwangtung army. On the strength of a petition from the school authorities, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen issued an order on October 20th of that year to proclaim the village a school community where buildings shall not be occupied by the army, and property shall be exempt from taxation. This order was respected by the military leaders on both sides in the civil war.

The most important link between the seven schools and the community at large is, of course, the body of graduates who enter

⁷³ The statement would seem to indicate that in none of these families are some children kept at home while other children are sent to school—a situation much more frequently found in such communities. It must be assumed, however, that, apart from great differences in the duration of school attendance, there is also considerable irregularity in such attendance. *The Editor.*

into every phase of its activities. By January 1933, these schools had graduated 3,530 students in all, 37 from the Chinese course, 12 from the short normal course, 699 from the normal school, 107 from the higher normal course, 239 from the four-year course of the middle school, 791 from the lower middle school, 32 from the higher middle school, 64 from the normal course of the higher middle school, 77 from the marine school, 183 from the commercial school, 14 from the short course of the higher middle school for girls, 213 from the normal school for girls, 215 from the middle school for girls, 17 from the agricultural school, class A, 74 from the lower agricultural school, 6 from the higher agricultural school, 5 from the short course of the agricultural school, 88 from the kindergarten normal course, 442 from the boys' primary school, and 215 from the girls' primary school. About four out of every five primary school teachers in South Fukien have come from these schools. To a lesser degree, the Chinese schools in the Nan Yang also have drawn upon graduates from this community to staff their schools.

IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY Y

The population of this community is largely composed of members of one clan which during the last one hundred years or so has continuously sent kinsmen to settle in British Malaya, especially Penang. During the Chia Ch'ing period (1796-1820), their kinsmen abroad increased in numbers, and a fairly large group of them became prosperous. They built an ancestral hall in Penang to promote fraternal sentiments among the members and to discuss matters concerning their common welfare. Soon afterwards a second such hall was built. In the course of time both institutions accumulated a good deal of property, reported in 1921 to be worth more than a million dollars, Malayan currency. According to custom, the interest on this capital has been used for the education of the clan's children, relief of its poor, and other clan benefits. Some years before 1910, when the old examination system was abolished in China and modern schools were permitted to be opened, leaders of the clan in the home village in South Fukien proposed that part of the annual remittances from Penang be spent to establish schools. In 1905 the first school for boys was thus set up in the old village.

In 1935, when the present investigation was made, this school was housed in a Kuan Kung temple. On certain occasions the central hall was still used for public worship. Classes were held in the other five rooms of the temple. Light and ventilation, as in most schools held on temple premises, were defective. On the walls were displayed drawings and calligraphic exercises by the pupils. Tables and chairs were obviously intended for use, mainly, by the older pupils, and were unsuitable for young children. A vacant lot of about three *mow* outside the temple was used as a playground. This place was unclean with pig manure.

The principal of the school was also the manager of the ancestral hall, and therefore the most influential family head in the village. Although he drew a monthly salary of \$36 he was rarely seen in the school, where his duties were entrusted to a teacher, a cousin. Of the eight teachers, one was a near relative of the principal and the others also were blood relations.

In this village there were about 500 children of school age. Of these, 154 boys were in one school and 106 girls in another. In the boys' school tuition is free as the annual remittance from Penang, amounting to \$2,500, covers all costs: salaries of principal and teachers, \$3,400; wages of a servant, \$120; miscellaneous expenses, \$50; stationery and books, \$25.

The girls' school was opened in 1926. In 1929 and 1930 the kinsmen in Penang remitted \$1,200 for the use of this school; in other years it managed to meet expenses by charging tuition fees. There were four male and four female teachers, all serving without pay. Of the 106 girls, 45 were children of emigrant families.

In 1929, an industrial training school was established for girls and women; for this Penang remitted \$1,000. On account of the economic depression this remittance was discontinued soon after, and the school began to charge a tuition fee of four dollars per year. Of the 51 students, 35 were from emigrant families. The six male teachers and one female teacher received no pay but were each given an allowance of five dollars per month.

IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY Z

This community is composed of seven villages and one small town. The variety of surnames found among the inhabitants

indicates the heterogeneous character of the local population. The community is reputed to have received rather large remittances every year from its sons abroad. A part of this money is spent on the maintenance of its schools.

According to our field survey in the winter of 1934-35 this community had a total of twenty-eight schools, two of them combined higher and lower primary schools, and the rest all lower primary schools. Between them, these schools had 119 teachers and 2,113 pupils. At one time a plan was under discussion for the establishment of a middle school, but the calamity of the tidal wave of August 2nd, 1922, intervened, and nothing came of it.

Of the twenty-eight schools, seven were initiated by overseas Chinese and have since been entirely supported by them; eleven receive part of their support from abroad, and eight have occasionally been receiving contributions from overseas. In 1934 the community had 4,987 children between the ages of seven and fifteen, 2,738 boys and 2,249 girls. Of the 2,113 attending school, 42.4 per cent of all children of school age, 1,665 were boys and 448 girls. That is, of the boys one in every 1.64 was attending school; of the girls one in every five. 789, or just over one-third, of the school children came from emigrant homes.

Typical instances of the connection of emigrants with local schools. Three of the twenty-eight schools are here selected for further brief description.

(1) One of the combined higher and lower primary schools was from the start entirely maintained by funds contributed from overseas. In 1934, this school had ten teachers and 170 pupils. Of its regular budget of \$3,150 a year, \$1,900 came from overseas, \$400 from returned emigrants at home who were on the school board, and the rest was met by tuition fees. Before the school was opened, the prospective principal went to Bangkok and collected contributions to the amount of \$7,000. That same year, in response to an appeal, Chinese merchants in Siam contributed a further \$2,000 with which the higher primary branch was started. The founders of the school had the vision of improving the customary methods of teaching by making full use of demonstrations and other realistic techniques. The school was thus fairly well equipped with simple scientific apparatus, models, and specimens. There were also maps,

and tools for mechanical drawing. A teacher of long experience at the school explained:

"The children want the real things and do not like the effort of abstract thinking. For example, if a child draws a house with a chimney, you will usually see smoke coming out of the chimney. To the child, a chimney without smoke is not real. If we could make better use of the children's preference for realism, we should be able to get many ideas into their heads without encountering the usual obstacles."

(2) The second higher primary school was opened with funds collected within the community and only later received support from overseas. In 1934, it had seven teachers and 112 pupils. Its annual budget was \$2,000. In 1922, when a new building was planned, emigrants in Siam contributed \$850 toward the total cost of \$1,500. In 1931, when another building was put up at a cost of \$1,600, \$600 came from Bangkok and other Siamese cities. In 1932, the overseas Chinese again contributed donations amounting to \$540.

(3) One of the lower primary schools only occasionally receives financial help and assistance in other forms from overseas. In 1934 it had ten teachers and 193 pupils. Its regular budget was then \$1,120 a year. Certain returned emigrants sent their children to this school, and these parents were so wholehearted in its support as to reduce the reliance on funds from abroad, which is so essential in the case of the other schools here mentioned.

EMIGRANT AND NON-EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

It is not possible within the scope of this study to make a detailed comparison between the educational institutions in the emigrant and the non-emigrant communities. Nevertheless, certain significant differences may be pointed out.

CURRICULUM

The schools in both communities follow in the main the regulations of the National Ministry of Education and have, therefore, more or less similar curricula, but the schools in the emigrant community lay special emphasis on letter writing and Mandarin Chinese. From the fourth year on, letter writing is taught in the primary school as a special subject. The teaching of Mandarin—

which is, of course, the *lingua franca* of educated Chinese everywhere—begins with the first year in the primary school.

In December, 1934, when the writer happened to be travelling on the Chao Chow—Swatow railway, he noticed on the train a group of children accompanied by their teacher, speaking Mandarin not only with the teacher but also among themselves. In response to a question, an answer came from one of the pupils in good Mandarin: "We have come from Chung Shan Road in Swatow and are journeying to Chao An." In fact, Mandarin is not only generally taught in the primary and middle schools of Fukien and Kwangtung, but it is to an increasing extent spoken by people of the higher classes in these maritime provinces.

TEACHERS' QUALIFICATIONS AND TEACHING METHODS

The teachers in the emigrant communities are, on the whole, better trained. Thus, in emigrant community X, all the teachers are graduates of a normal school. This, however, is a little better than the average situation. In emigrant community Y, three out of eight teachers were graduates of lower middle schools, one of a primary school, while one had studied in a higher middle school, three in lower middle schools, and one in a primary school (without saying anything about graduation). In emigrant community Z, most of the teachers were graduates of lower middle schools. All of them spoke reasonably good Mandarin.

Teaching methods were found to vary greatly, not only with the different subjects but also among the teachers of the same subject. In a natural-history class in a certain emigrant village, the pupils learned the principles of botany in the class room and carried on simple experiments in the school garden. One pupil said to the writer: "We live in the town where I am used to seeing cucumbers and tomatoes on the dining table after they have been cooked, but in the school garden here I have the pleasure of seeing them grow." In certain subject fields, the memory of the children is still overtaxed, both in the emigrant and in the non-emigrant communities. Especially in Chinese language, history and geography, the teacher usually reads a lesson and the pupils repeat it in unison. In these instances, the teachers do not seem able to arouse the interest of the pupils, and the pupils show no enthusiasm for these lessons.

SCHOOL SITE, FINANCE, AND EQUIPMENT

Few of the schools in either the emigrant or the non-emigrant communities have buildings constructed for their purpose; almost all are housed either in a temple or in an ancestral hall. The three schools in the non-emigrant community are held in poorer and less well-kept ancestral halls. Their walls are for the most part without maps. The class rooms usually contain no apparatus or illustrative material. In the emigrant communities, such needs as these are better provided for because they dispose of larger funds. In the non-emigrant community the schools depend entirely on local support, which usually is limited to rent on properties owned by the school authorities and to tuition fees. Although the schools lack funds in both types of community, their financial situation is decidedly worse in the non-emigrant community.

NUMBER OF PUPILS

As shown above, two out of every five of the 4,987 children of school age in emigrant community Z were attending school. In the non-emigrant community, there were 933 children of school age, and of these only 239, or one out of four, were at school. Here, only 20 of a total of 410 girls of school age, one out of twenty, went to school, while in the emigrant community girls make up about one-fifth of the school attendance. The explanation of these differences lies in the contributions of the emigrant families, not only to the support of schools but also to their use. Of the 2,113 school children in the emigrant community, 789, or 37 per cent, came from emigrant homes; in the non-emigrant community, only 45, or 19 per cent of the total enrolment of 239, were the children of emigrants.

ADULT LEARNING

Life for the peasant in South China is hard, but not monotonous. Although the seasons of the year follow each other with fair regularity, nature is neither so certain nor so capricious as to discourage speculation. From this region have come many great scholars. More important, among those who occupy a lowly station in life one finds many whose mother wit is sharp and who have fruitfully reflected upon their experience. A good story or a good

joke find universal acclaim. Poverty is no bar to entertainment that makes a fairly high demand on intelligence and the appreciation of aesthetic and moral values.

That the experience of foreign travel broadens the outlook even of those who occupy a low economic status goes without saying. While, as we have seen, the development of institutional education in the emigrant villages owes its initiative and its continued stimulation primarily to those of more than average richness of opportunity abroad, it is also evident that the efforts of such citizens would not go far if they were not supported by the approval of much larger numbers who themselves can contribute but little to the formal means of education. Thus, the general intellectual tone in the emigrant communities is on an appreciably higher level than that in the non-emigrant communities, in practically all classes of the population.

DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT

The pleasure of the Chinese in theatrical entertainments of all kinds is well known. The minds of even the simplest peasants are rich with memories of dramatic scenes, some of which go back to ancient times. No festival is complete without its plays—sometimes particular plays traditionally associated with its celebration for many generations; no fair is complete without its story tellers whose excellence is rated not by the novelty of their epics but by the dramatic vigour with which they are told.

Drama is by far the most popular form of public entertainment. Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty and at the beginning of the Republic, emigrant community Z is said to have performed plays on about a hundred days each year. Impoverished, as has previously been mentioned, by the tidal wave of August 2nd, 1922, this community was forced to abandon some of the more costly performances, but in 1927 a theatre was opened for a more frequent staging of the well-loved plays which in previous years had been presented only by travelling troupes. In 1935, there were fifteen performances at this theatre, each extending over three days.

The drama is strongly influenced by local traditions and is popularly known as Chao Chou drama. It comprises three categories of plays. The historical repertoire is very old, but the singing

is in the Swatow dialect, accompanied by Swatow music. It includes such famous pieces as "The Sighs of Chu Ko Liang," "Han Wen Kung in the Snow," "The Adultery of the Concubine Ta Chi," and "Peace Made with the Barbarians by the beautiful Wang Chao Chun." The contemporary plays are on social themes and take their dramatic material from novels, folk tales, or motion picture scenarios. Among the more popular pieces are "The Sisters," "The Rescue of a Grandfather by an Orphan," and "The Fire at the Red Lotus Temple." The third category consists of comedies. They usually lack a consistent plot and are more of the slapstick variety. Popular pieces are "The Two Sisters," "The Two Clowns," and "A Slave Girl."

Generally speaking, a formal festival requires the performance of a Chao Chou drama, and informal festivity the performance of a shadow show. Shadow shows are less expensive, easy to understand, and exceedingly popular. Their material may be taken from history or from contemporary events. The performance is in pantomime and is accompanied with music and occasional singing behind the screen. In emigrant community Z, shadow shows are performed on almost all special occasions, about eighty times a year.

The chief innovation attributable to the tastes introduced by returned emigrants is the motion picture. In emigrant community Z, films were shown for the first time in 1903 at a holiday entertainment given by a wealthy family. As the story was a foreign one, and the projector of an antiquated model, the audience did not show much enthusiasm for the show. However, interest in this form of entertainment has become widespread since 1923 when Chinese films were first shown. In 1935 there were two performances, exhibiting the pictures "Pearl Tower," "Ti Ching," and "National Heroes." Some motion pictures take their theme from modern novels, others from traditional romantic stories.

HOME CULTURE

Conditions in South China have been too unsettled in recent times to make possible a large influx of new types of recreation, other than those closely connected with the modern programmes of the schools. Thus far, because of these conditions, those returned emigrants whose taste has been most deeply influenced by foreign experience, usually prefer to cultivate them in the nearby port city

where the number of those who can afford to indulge in motion pictures, reading, debates, and the like, is, of course, much larger. It may be said, therefore, that changes in artistic and intellectual enjoyments in the emigrant communities of the hinterland are to be found in many homes, but have as yet barely reached the stage of social provision.

Passing reference has been made to the tendency toward modern decoration and modern furnishing in some of these homes. These things, though as yet quite spasmodic and often inter-mixed with traditional designs and arrangements in a confusing hodge-podge, are indications rather than fulfilments of changes in aesthetic appreciation. At the moment, the harmony of those homes that have retained the atmosphere of traditional Chinese culture is more satisfying.⁷⁴ A brief inventory of the decorations of the reception room of a cultured family in community Z, which has managed to combine a regard for modern education with love of the old, may not be amiss. Here we found on the book-shelf the Four Books, the Five Classics, Selected Essays, the *Liao Chai Chi I* (Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio), *What A Son Should Know*, a Chinese History, a number of textbooks used in the primary school, and a pile of daily newspapers. Facing the door, on the main wall, hung a painting by a famous local artist and a pair of scrolls by a noted calligrapher of the Ch'ing Dynasty. On one side wall four landscape paintings of modern style were to be seen. On the opposite side hung a set of string instruments used in Swatow chamber music. On a corner table stood a phonograph with Chinese and foreign records. The tables and chairs were for the most part made of teakwood, and of Cantonese workmanship.

The members of this family and some other families in the neighbourhood like to spend their leisure time playing Swatow music. This music, an artist told the writer, "emphasizes low and flat tones suitable as accompaniment for singing in unison. Such singing is rare in connection with dramatic performances in other parts of China."

In such families as this, and also in those with less developed tastes for the arts, intelligent conversation is perhaps the form of recreation which most fully reflects both the values and the disturbances occasioned by the new learning. It is here that progres-

⁷⁴ See Bruno Lasker, "Portrait of a Chinese Town", *Asia*, February 1938, p. 79 *et seq.*

sive ideas are thrashed out and the deposit of foreign learning is measured against the inherited wisdom of Chinese sages.

"The most important contribution of the returned emigrants to the cultural life of China," Dr. Lim Boon Keng, the famous President of Amoy University, told us, "is the influence which they exert to dispel superstition. Thirty or forty years ago the people would have torn down the buildings of this university because, constructed on a slight elevation, some of them overshadow graves. All that is now changed."

CHAPTER VIII

HEALTH AND HABITS

WHILE SCHOOLS can be seen and their attendance counted, the provision for the maintenance of health in a community has no such tangible forms of expression, but where births and deaths and occurrences of the more important communicable diseases are registered with the authorities, statistics offer an excellent clue to changes in the health situation, as well as to the demographic composition of the population. Unfortunately, data of this sort are as yet very imperfectly collected in South China. Only for two of the *hsien* included in the present study has it been possible to secure approximate estimates of birth rate, death rate, and infant mortality, but the sources on which they are based are not reliable enough to justify the reproduction of these estimates here.

To ascertain whether emigration has, either directly or indirectly, exerted a noticeable influence on the public health, we are thrown back on less exact methods of inquiry. An indirect source of information is the record of household expenditures which throws some light on the part which care of health plays in the total concerns of the family. Details given in Table 18 show that of one hundred families in an emigrant community 52 reported expenditures on care of health, and that in the non-emigrant community 75 of the hundred families who were interrogated did so. The average monthly expenditure on health is also greater in the non-emigrant than in the emigrant household, and the proportion of expenditures on health in the total budget is four or five times as high, but this limited information does not warrant a definite conclusion as to the reason for this curious discrepancy, so remarkably at variance with the relative expenditures of the emigrant and the non-emigrant groups on other categories of commodities and services. The definition of what was to be included under the term "expenditures on care of health" may not have been sharply enough drawn. Moreover, it would be impossible clearly to separate expenditures for one purpose from those for another. For example, one of the largest influences on

health and hygiene unquestionably is covered in these household budgets by the item of education, since the schools are the chief centres of these influences. Furthermore, the concepts of food and medicine are not as sharply separated in the Chinese mind as they are in the Western; medication is still largely a matter of diet—which may involve not only nutrition in general but also introduction of ingredients with known curative qualities—rather than of measured doses of this drug or that. In a sense, much of the expenditure for religious observances should also be included among that for health, though from a modern scientific standpoint it may be a wasteful expenditure. We therefore regretfully relinquish this method of inquiry also.

More fruitful in results have been our efforts to discuss with many different kinds of people in these communities what they knew about health matters, with the two-fold purpose of securing—especially from the older inhabitants—some clues to the community's health experience, and of ascertaining the prevailing attitudes toward health and its care in different sections of the population. To over-systematize the results of this kind of inquiry would be misleading. Nevertheless, they may be of some value.

The Chinese peasant is, of course, unable to describe accurately the nature of a disease or its cause. Many ailments are attributed to such inclusive terms as "humidity", "sun-stroke" or "colds". The last-named may include anything from a common cold to a severe case of influenza. Diseases of the respiratory organs are rather common, but the average man in the region under study evidently could not distinguish between their less and more dangerous forms. In a village near Amoy, to give an example, one of the investigators, while discussing the subject of illness with the members of a middle-class family, heard a man coughing and groaning in a dark corner of the room. The following conversation ensued: "Is someone sick in the house?" "No." "I thought I heard somebody coughing and groaning." "Yes, but he is not sick, he is only lazy; he has never been confined to bed." After a while the sick man came to the door. He had an emaciated face. On further questioning it appeared that he coughed frequently, occasionally spitting blood, had periodical fevers in the afternoons and perspiration at night: there could be no question that he was consumptive. Yet, because he had never taken to his bed, his illness was not considered serious.

This instance shows that fact-finding about the general state of health by means of inquiry is not, after all, such an easy matter either. The inquirer is put off because, generally speaking, the Chinese peasant dislikes to discuss illness and death. He is afraid that a free discussion of such matters may bring bad luck. To speculate on the causes of infant deaths is especially tabooed by the parents. Sometimes they really did not know what their baby had died of, but more often they were probably afraid that mention of the cause would bring it back into the family circle and cause more harm.

COMMON DISEASES

In spite of these difficulties, some information was obtained. Since our main interest was to discover whether there had been a noteworthy change in the incidence of different diseases, we asked our informants to tell us what diseases were most prevalent during their childhood and what diseases seemed to them most prevalent at the present time (1934-35). Because of the difference in the ages of the persons questioned, the time interval between the two periods varies, but usually it lies within the range of from fifteen to thirty years. Table 19 roughly shows the results.

Apart from the use of non-technical terms, this testimony is not

TABLE 19. DISEASES COMMON IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES
(in the order of the number of their occurrence in statements made by middle-aged and elderly informants)

<i>Community</i>	<i>During childhood</i>	<i>Today (1934-35)</i>
X	Malaria Cholera Smallpox Bubonic plague	Malaria Cholera Skin diseases
Y	Bubonic plague Diarrhoea Cholera	Malaria Skin diseases Fever Humidity ailments
Z	Smallpox Fever Influenza Epidemics (cholera and bubonic plague)	Humidity ailments Influenza

very convincing, because people are obviously more likely to remember over a distance of years the more dramatic epidemics rather than the unsensational ailments which are of interest primarily to the immediate family circle. The statement is therefore supplemented with the following testimony, secured through more penetrating interviews with fewer but better informed persons, physicians and other educated persons or community leaders. From their statements it appears that: (1) infectious diseases of the alimentary system, including typhoid, cholera, and diarrhoea, are the most prevalent; (2) infections through the agency of insects and worms are next in importance, including malaria and hook-worm; (3) tuberculosis in various forms still claims many victims; (4) infectious respiratory diseases, such as diphtheria, smallpox, and scarlet fever are fairly common; (5) these are followed in importance by pestilences, such as bubonic plague.

Although there are likely to be differences between the relative importance of various causes of mortality in rural and urban communities, the much more accurate records of the urban hospitals may, lacking other reliable information, contain some clues to health conditions in the neighbouring countryside. The diseases most common in Swatow, if one may judge from a summary of their frequency of occurrence on the records of one hospital in that city, were, in 1933, in the order of their importance: Helminthic infections (other than *Shistosomiasis*); diseases of the skin, cellular tissue, bones and organs of locomotion; trachoma, results of violence (other than suicide); diseases of the digestive system (not including liver); diseases of the eye (other than trachoma).⁷⁵ In the same year the records of a hospital in Kulangsu, Amoy, show the following order of frequency: diseases of the skin, cellular tissue, bones, and organs of locomotion; diseases of the digestive system (other than liver); tuberculosis of the respiratory system; diseases of the genito-urinary system (other than nephritis); venereal diseases; diseases occasioned by pregnancy and childbirth, puerperism.⁷⁶

EPIDEMIC AND OTHER INFECTIOUS DISEASES

Cholera.—In none of the emigrant communities is cholera of frequent occurrence, but when it does break out, its ravages are long

⁷⁵ H. S. Gear, "The Incidence of Disease of Selected Hospitals in China," *Chinese Medical Journal*, Vol. 48, 1934, pp. 768-69.

⁷⁶ H. S. Gear, *ibid.*, pp. 770-71.

remembered. In emigrant community Z there was such a visitation in 1911, following an exceptionally heavy rainfall which caused the overflow of the Han River. Dikes and dams had given way, and several of the villages had been flooded. The depth of the water varied from four to nine feet (Chin.). After the river had receded, flies swarmed everywhere, especially, of course, where manure was piled up. No one knows exactly for how many deaths the epidemic was responsible; the estimates vary between one hundred and six hundred. A doctor of Chinese training who has lived in the village for more than twenty-five years described to the writer the rather characteristic way in which the epidemic was dealt with at the time:

"The flood is responsible for the multiplication of flies. Flies deposit dirt on food. When people carelessly eat dirty food, they are apt to be afflicted with cholera. If the disease is caused by the violation of the positive principle in nature it should be treated with drugs that will decrease the body temperature. If it is caused by the violation of the negative principle the method of treatment should emphasize the strengthening and cleaning of the intestines."⁷⁷

Bubonic plague. In 1914 the same village had the misfortune of being visited by the dreaded bubonic plague which lasted from the third to the eighth moon. It is believed that over two thousand persons fell victims to this pestilence. A member of the gentry, fifty-nine years old when we saw him in 1934, vividly recalled the horrible experience:

"Our first knowledge of an imminent epidemic came when people began to notice that rats suddenly fell dead in the kitchen or in the courtyard. A few days later a few poor men also died suddenly. At that time the village had only two doctors, both of traditional training, and neither of them knew what had happened to the victims. In the weeks that followed, some of their patients were well one day and dead the next. Early symptoms shown by some of them were boils on the neck or on a leg, which proved incurable. There seemed to be no other basis of diagnosis; therefore, there was little possibility of prevention.

"The well-to-do families gradually moved away to live with friends or relatives in near-by villages. The poor remained at home to die. Some of those who left the village carried the disease to other places, so that neighbours later refused to accommodate refugees from here.

⁷⁷ According to Chinese philosophy, the male or positive principle in nature is developed simultaneously with the female or negative principle from the great monad. All things are created by the interaction of the two principles, and cosmic harmony is thus preserved.

"Ignorant people said that this village was punished by the ravages of the plague because it had somehow displeased the 'Shen' [the spirit world]. The plague gradually disappeared after the eighth moon."

Malaria. The conditions favouring this disease are all present in East Kwangtung and South Fukien: heat, humidity, and stagnant waters. Especially near the sea the landscape is full of creeks, ponds and inlets. The cultivation of rice necessitates a system of irrigation with additional man-made ponds for the regulation of the water supply. Malaria, therefore, is quite prevalent. However, in the emigrant communities the people are gradually learning how to treat and how to prevent it. Treatment by local herbs is customary. Now quinine is becoming more popular. In this matter, the influence of the emigrants is unmistakable. The wife of a middle-class merchant who has lived in Siam for over twenty years told us:

"Formerly, whenever I was attacked by the 'shivering cold' I used to go to the doctor [of traditional training]. Once he treated me for more than half-a-year without any effect. Then one day my husband sent me some white pills which tasted very bitter. I felt better after using them for two weeks; after a month-and-a-half the disease seemed to have left me entirely. Since that time I have become converted to Western medicine. Now, when I have a headache or feel sick, I buy some Western medicine."

Similar was the testimony of the wife of a tanner who has risen from poverty to considerable wealth in Siam.

"My husband always writes me a letter when he sends money from Bangkok; and he says over and over again that we should use the money, first to pay our debts, and later to buy better food and better clothes for the children. In a recent letter he has asked me also to pay more attention to our living conditions so as to improve the health of the family. Whenever a friend of his comes back to China, my husband gives him some packet of medicine for me. According to my experience, this quinine is very effective. Last year one of my daughters had malaria, and my neighbours took her to see a doctor [of Chinese training], but there was no improvement for quite a long time. So one day I gave her some quinine, and she soon recovered. Since that time I have not only myself come to believe in Western medicine, but have also on every opportunity introduced it among my friends and relatives."

Statements such as these may sound like the testimonials for patent medicines which one reads in advertisements, and show no real understanding of the principles involved. More noteworthy, therefore, is the fact that mosquito nets over the beds are no longer a rarity in the emigrant communities.

This modern attitude toward malaria, based on knowledge, may be directly traced to learnings in the Nan Yang. Thus, it has been reported from British Malaya that measures adopted there to prevent infection have received full co-operation from the Chinese, even from labourers on the rubber plantations who are sometimes considered to be of low intelligence.

"The nationalities of those treated by the Chinese doctor on Asiatic estates included 298 Tamils (out of an average force of 1,523 Tamils), 89 Chinese (out of an average force of 4,078 Chinese), and 41 Malays (who generally retire to the Kampongs when ill). Doubtless some Chinese take their native system of treatment and are not recorded as sick, but the figures do indicate the greater liability of Tamils to contract malaria, especially on Asiatic estates where active anti-malarial measures are often lacking. The chief factor is that the Chinese always use a mosquito net, while the Tamil prefers scratching to a curtain." ⁷⁸

Smallpox. According to our information, smallpox was formerly rather common in this area. At the beginning of the Republic, one of the emigrant communities in South Fukien is said to have had a serious epidemic which every day claimed scores of victims. Inoculation—probably not in the modern sense—through the nose is reported to have been the traditional form of treatment. Recently vaccination has been widely adopted, and smallpox is becoming rare.

Tetany. As has already been stated, data on infants' and children's diseases are particularly difficult to get. One of the commonest infants' diseases is tetany. Its principal cause is the presence of a micro-organism which enters the body through the navel. In rural Kwangtung and Fukien a child is commonly delivered by a midwife who, of course, has no modern training, and frequently cuts the umbilical cord with dirty scissors and bandages it with unsterilized cotton. If germs have been introduced through such carelessness, the child is liable to suffer convulsions from four to seven days after birth, and to die.

In this as in other matters affecting the survival of infants—a matter of such outstanding importance in the thoughts and feelings of the typical Chinese household—the influence of foreign experience is felt with special force. Modern midwifery, though not yet accessible to all classes, is becoming quite popular in the upper and

⁷⁸ Malacca Agricultural Medical Board, *Statement of Accounts and Senior Medical Officer's Report for 1933*; Wah Seong Press, Malacca, 1934, p. 11.

middle classes, and, as a result, tetany in infants tends to decrease. A dealer in piece goods who has been in Bangkok for over thirty years, in his letters home sometimes refers to the importance of Western midwifery. His mother on one occasion told the writer:

"My son says that employment of a Western-trained midwife makes delivery safer for both the child and the mother. My daughter-in-law and I have followed his advice and think that he is right."

A Chinese school teacher in Singapore was also mentioned by people in an emigrant community as an apostle of modern midwifery. His mother said:

"When my third daughter-in-law was about to give birth, her husband wrote from Singapore urging us to call in a Western-trained midwife. We did so and were greatly pleased with the sanitary and efficient service she gave . . . But it was rather expensive!"

TREATMENT AND PREVENTION

Having already incidentally referred to some of the traditional practices in treating disease and to the influence exerted toward the introduction of more modern methods by those who have had experience of them abroad, we may now further inquire, as far as our rather fragmentary information permits, to what extent this influence has been effective.

Reliance on prayer and metaphysics. It has already been observed in passing that behind a great deal of the religious ritualism of the old-fashioned Chinese home lies a deep concern for the health of the family. Appeal to the unseen powers here, as in all simple societies, is still the first recourse in case of illness. And this is true of the emigrant communities to only a slightly lesser degree than in those that have had no contact with the modern world outside. In explanation, it should be remembered that in intimate matters of this sort the older women of the household are bound to exercise a great deal of authority, and that very few of them have been abroad, and not many in the nearby city, even though their husbands may for many years have made their abode in one of the modern cosmopolitan centres of the Nan Yang.

The procedure adopted to bring spiritual power to bear on the cure of physical ills is much the same everywhere. In the emigrant communities Y and Z, when a peasant is ill, some member of his family will visit a temple to pray. He carries candles, incense, and

joss paper, goes through the traditional rites, and, after an appropriate payment, draws a number of bamboo sticks from a jar full of them. The inscriptions on these sticks, as interpreted by a temple attendant, will tell him what remedies to procure. At some temples these medicines can be bought from one of the priests; if not the client gets them at a drug store.

It is believed that some gods in the community are particularly helpful in the cure of illness. Foremost among them in emigrant community Z is San Shan Kuo Wang, and in emigrant community Y, Fu Ling Kung.

In emigrant community X a somewhat different method prevails. Here the god is supposed to give the prescription more directly. Those given by the local god Hu Kuo Chun Wang are generally believed to be the most efficacious. Standing beside his image are two attendants or media, villagers who are believed to be possessed of spiritual powers and in communion with the god. When someone comes to pray, one of these assistants writes out certain Chinese characters which are legible only to the other, who afterwards deciphers the prescription and hands over the medicine it calls for. The entire procedure is inexpensive. Everything included, the total cost ranges usually from ten to forty cents. If the sick person recovers he usually comes to show his gratitude and spends some more money, according to his financial condition.

In the more modern households, this mode of procedure sometimes is the last rather than the first recourse, resorted to when the Chinese or Western-trained doctor who has been consulted in the first instance has failed to effect a cure. Among the poor and ignorant, however, temple praying is often the only method of treating disease they know of, apart from the use of family remedies. Their ideas on health and disease and ways of procuring relief from pain are probably not very different from those of the comparable classes in the non-emigrant community.

For the attitude of the non-emigrant community included in the present study the following statement seems representative:

"Ordinarily, when someone in our home falls ill, we try to cure him by acting on our own experience and knowledge. Or we may go to a drug store and ask for the advice of one of the assistants, for which there is no charge, and then buy from him whatever he recommends. If this does not help, we may call in a doctor [of Chinese training]."

However, the reputation of Western medicine has penetrated to this community, too, and the better informed people are not hostile either to doctors of Western training or to Western forms of treatment. In fact, some of the local residents, because of superior knowledge or wider experience, are quite appreciative of both. A blacksmith told us:

"I was hurt one day by a falling hammer and suffered painfully from bleeding. A doctor of Chinese training first attended me but could not heal me. I then called in a doctor of Western training who healed my injury soon afterward."

A middle-school student echoed the firm belief in Western medicine of a small but advanced group in this community when he said:

"I think the doctor who has had a Western training is scientific, whereas the traditional doctor is a mystic. When the latter indulges in such speculations as the notion of the 'spirit' and 'five ways' in the diagnosis of a disease, no verification is possible."

PROVISION FOR MEDICAL CARE

Before leaving the non-emigrant community, we may also consider a few data concerning its equipment for the treatment of disease.

One of its villages, M, has fourteen Chinese drug stores, and to all but one of them there is attached a doctor of traditional training.⁷⁹ In addition there is in the village an independent doctor of traditional training. The families of three of the doctors have been in the profession for several generations. There are also four dispensaries of Western medicine, and each of these has in attendance a doctor of Western training. They are graduates of the Red Cross Hospital and Nursing School at Chao Chou; one of them has served as an interne at a mission hospital in Swatow. Child births are attended by one old-fashioned midwife and by one who has graduated from a midwifery school in Canton. For the treatment

⁷⁹ It should be mentioned that this attachment of a physician to a drug store, a very common arrangement, does not represent a particularly bad form of commercialism in medical practice. Like most things in China, the skills that go into medical diagnosis and treatment, and the formulas for the preparation of medicine, are largely matters of family possession, carefully guarded and handed on from father to son. The attachment of a doctor to a drug store is merely a reversal of the attachment of a dispensary to a doctor's consulting room, which is common in the West. *The Editor.*

of skin diseases and bone-setting there are three specialists of traditional training whose families have been in the profession for several generations.

Though separated from M by a distance of less than three kilometers, village N is much more rural in appearance and spirit, and more backward in medical equipment. There is no doctor of Western training, only three doctors who practise in the traditional way, and one old-time drug store.

The provision for medical care in the emigrant communities is roughly indicated in Table 20. These figures, though in themselves inconclusive, tend to show that on the whole overseas migration has set moving in the home communities certain currents which have not yet had time to produce a complete change in the traditions relating to the care of health and the treatment of disease. Quite apart from the question as to the extent to which the emigrants themselves have been exposed to modern hygiene and modern medicine and have adopted their major tenets,⁸⁰ any modification of attitudes and practices in this field of social interest comes up against special obstacles. One of these has already been mentioned, namely that in such intimate matters as child-birth and disease the more conservative sex is likely to have much greater authority than in such matters as house building or school attendance of the children, for example. Another is that in all civilizations traditions are most deeply rooted in all matters having to do with procreation and with death. Here the mystery of life itself calls forth a strong adherence to occult beliefs long after scepticism, induced by wider experience,

⁸⁰ Such evidence as the writer was able to obtain on changing attitudes to health in the Nan Yang points to a fairly rapid change which, of course, is most pronounced where under favourable conditions living habits generally are changing. He was told:

"Many of our compatriots still believe in the old principle of cold and hot. To them whatever is cold is injurious to health, whatever is warm is helpful. In recent times, however, this attitude is changing. Increasing numbers, for example, are acquiring a taste for cold drinks, such as lemonade, aerated water, iced coffee and iced tea. This change is explained with the appreciation for the pure food laws of the colonial governments."

Recourse to traditional Chinese medicine in illness tends to outlast many other inherited customs; and especially in the more recent settlements of immigrants from South China the old-type drug stores are doing a flourishing business. The experience of Hong Kong in this matter would seem to be typical:

"Though the educated Chinese appreciate the value of Western medicine, the bulk of the population still pin their faith to the old-fashioned Chinese decoctions and, when ill, seek advice from one or other of the many empiricists or herbalists who practise in the Colony. A number of those who enter the Hospitals do so only after they have made full trial of Chinese medicine and when their disease is well advanced. (*Medical and Sanitary Report for 1933, Hong Kong, p. 33.*)

has blown away the remnants of fetishism in business practices and other affairs of every-day life.

It is partly for this reason and partly because of the uneven impact of foreign experience on the lives of Chinese in the Nan Yang that their attitudes toward health are often very incongruous. As a rule, as several of the remarks quoted have already shown, their influence on the home community takes the form, not of a general advocacy of modern ideas and methods, but of practical advice in quite specific cases of concern. Thus it is foreign surgery that has made the deepest impression because of its ostensible success, and its superiority is acknowledged by many who do not understand the principles of sterilization and who in other health matters cling to tradition.⁸¹

TABLE 20. MEDICAL FACILITIES IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Community	Estimated Population	Number of		
		Hospitals	Doctors	Chinese drug stores
X	2,454	5*	(a) ? (b) 6	6
Y	3,720	1†	1 2	2
Z	25,303	6	9‡ 52	?

(a) With Western training. (b) With Chinese training

* Including a woman's hospital. One of the institutions included is a school hospital without an in-patients' department.

† An out-patients' department only, taken care of by one doctor with one assistant.

‡ Excluding six dentists.

The mother of an emigrant who had returned poor gave voice to a distinction which is often heard among members of the poorer classes. She said:

"A doctor of Western training is good for external treatment, and a doctor of the old Chinese training good for the treatment of internal diseases. Nearly everybody here seems to think so."

More specific on this point is the testimony of a returned emigrant of higher social standing:

"For fractures, boils, malaria, and skin diseases, I would recommend a Western-trained doctor as more expert. I have seen such men perform

⁸¹ See Wm. W. Cadbury, M.D., and Mary Hoxie Jones, *At the Point of a Lancet: One Hundred Years of the Canton Hospital*; Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, 1935.

miraculous feats in the Nan Yang. For the cure of such illnesses as headache, fever, and 'humidity ailments' [presumably meaning respiratory], the Chinese doctor seems more proficient."

But increasingly the field of practice is narrowing in which the emigrant retains his confidence in traditional medicine. Perhaps already more typical of the general public opinion than the statement just quoted is that of another who said:

"Formerly I trusted Chinese-trained doctors, but I gradually found them to be unreasonable, and began to take Western medicine. While abroad, I consulted doctors with Western training as a matter of course. And I am now keeping up this habit since my return to China."

For the poor, the choice is sometimes one of economic considerations:

"I know that the doctors who have been trained in Western schools know more, but I cannot consult them; their fees are too high. When I was in the Nan Yang I occasionally made use of their services. But when I need a doctor now, since my return to China, I am obliged to go to one of our old-fashioned doctors with only traditional training."

SANITATION

As in matters of education, discussed in the previous chapter, so also in matters of health the most persistent advocate of change from old practices to new are those emigrants who have done well and who, while abroad, have mixed most freely with European society and could most freely afford to modernize their own way of life. A certain emigrant who left China at the age of thirty-five worked up his way in Bangkok from shop assistant to owner of a large business. Wealthy and ready for retirement, he left his business in Siam in the hands of four sons and is now spending the remainder of his life in the village of his fathers. This man is an enthusiastic advocate of social reform through changes in the health habits of the people. He said:

"Generally speaking, our farmers have no real understanding of health and hygiene. Their food, their clothing, their homes, and the streets they live on are usually unclean. As a result, their lives are often cut short. Since I came back to China, I have given up eating uncooked food and I have instructed my family never to drink any but boiled water. It is only when we have paid attention to personal and household hygiene that we can effectively promote the public health of the community."

After spending fifteen years as a merchant in French Indo-China, a returned emigrant gave his impressions in these words:

"The streets in Annam are usually clean; those in Chinese cities, and even more in our rural areas, are unclean. In this village, toilet facilities are as a rule shared by several families; and the night soil is used to fertilize the fields and gardens. All this is against the fundamental principles of sanitation. If we want to get rid of infectious diseases, we must exercise appropriate control over flies and mosquitoes, and that means over the disposal of garbage."

The recognition of the great need which there is in the countryside and also in the cities of South China for sanitary reform, since it is most fully developed in the wealthier and more influential circles, has produced something of the nature of a reform crusade. Thus the *South China Press* of Amoy, a daily newspaper representative of overseas capital and business, says editorially:

"The city's water supply is far from sufficient to meet the needs of its residents. This deficiency accounts for the existence of so many breeding places for this pestilence [malaria] and for the unhealthy state of the inhabitants who devote their purses and their time to the pursuit of money-making more than to the cleanliness of their bodies.

"The overcrowded condition of so many homes in this city should be discouraged; and steps should be taken to get rid of ill-ventilated rooms which are the cause of sickness and infection. On some of our open grounds may be seen low-lying huts, resembling wigwags, built of metal sheets and old cement barrels fished out of the refuse, or of empty kerosene tins and other discarded cans and scraps of one thing and another. The occupants of such dilapidated domiciles are paupers who have neither the means nor the time to pay attention to the principles of hygiene and sanitation. For most of them bodily cleanliness is an unheard-of luxury.

"To make Amoy and other places healthier to live in and more inviting for people to come and settle in, such breeding places of mosquitoes, of flies, and of fleas, must be destroyed. The matter should be taken up for careful consideration by the proper authorities in charge of the public health and the welfare of the people. In this connection, we would suggest that some research be undertaken as to the best way of solving this simple yet vital problem of how to keep the city and its suburbs in a condition fit for hygienic and sanitary living. In this matter, the example might well be followed of the Malaria Research Commission of Malaya or the Plague Prevention Committee of Manchuria under the able leadership and management of Dr. Wu Lien Teh."⁸²

⁸² *South China Press*, Amoy, June 17th, 1934.

HABITS

Those thoughtful emigrants who were able to advance from considerations of personal health to a more sweeping view of public health, and from the advocacy of modern medical practices to that of modern sanitation as a foundation of all healthful living, could not fail to be impressed also by the close connection between health and habits other than those directly relating to physical wants. Space does not permit a more than cursory discussion here of the influence which these reformers are exerting on the modification or elimination of some of those wastes of time and means and energy which most detract from a wholesome mode of life in the villages of South China.

Opium. In emigrant community X it was computed in 1934 that one of every five adult males was an opium smoker, about four hundred of them. The addict on an average spends twenty cents a day on this indulgence; but the total expenditure in the community on opium was estimated as being more nearly \$54,750 a year. In emigrant community Y, about two out of every five male adults were said to be opium smokers in 1936. It was estimated that the community spent about \$50 a day on the drug, or more than \$18,000 a year. These figures do not include the expenditures on opium by the wealthier homes which buy their supplies of the drug privately in neighbouring towns. For emigrant community Z it was not possible to ascertain the number of addicts, but in 1934 there were five public opium rooms here, and a number of middle-class families were known to have smoking implements on hand with which to treat some of their guests. Social usage seems to sanction this form of entertainment, and some people prefer it to tea drinking.

A considerable number of opium smokers in all these communities were returned emigrants. The exact part which residence overseas plays today in the discouragement or encouragement of this pernicious habit is difficult to establish. There can be no question that the more educated families of the overseas Chinese use the whole weight of their influence against the use of the drug, except possibly for a small minority who profit from it or who, in deference to older members of the family, prefer to make no issue of the matter, and merely try to protect the younger members from acquiring the habit.

The place of residence in the Nan Yang makes a considerable difference in the degree to which the habit is perpetuated among the labouring Chinese. In the Philippines the use of opium is prohibited, which means that it is clandestine and expensive. In French Indo-China opium smoking is probably most wide-spread because the government takes a tolerant attitude toward it. Opium dens here are called "conversation rooms". Some employers of Chinese labour consider it harmless and conducive to high exertion in a difficult climate. In Siam licensing conditions are similar to those in Indo-China. British Malaya and Netherlands India have government monopolies of the dispensation of the drug. In the former country, this monopoly dates from 1910. The income from it in 1918 amounted to about three-fifths of the total revenue. In the succeeding three years this proportion was brought down to 51, 47, and 38 per cent; it has further decreased since that time, but is still considerable. Part of the income is used for an elaborate machinery of enforcement and sale, with expensive buildings, and for the treatment of addicts. Because of the strong world opinion against opium, and the effort of the League of Nations to regulate the sale of the drug, the Malayan government has recently introduced a system of registration of smokers, looking forward to its entire prohibition in the future. In the Netherlands Indies, likewise, offices for the sale of the drug to registered customers are established in many places, chiefly near the tin mines and rubber plantations where Chinese manual workers are most numerous. Siam follows the French practice of licensing, and is not, apparently, making a really serious effort to reduce opium smoking.

Medical opinion is, of course, convinced that opium smoking shortens the lives of addicts. In Formosa, the crude death rate for the general population during the period 1901-1927 was 21.8; during the same period that of opium smokers was 64.1. The two figures are not strictly comparable because of the different age composition of the two groups, and it is reported, moreover, that "many people take to opium smoking to relieve some disease, and the majority of opium smokers in Formosa are old."⁸³

Gambling. Though gambling prevails among all classes of Chinese except those with a modern education, it has a special

⁸³ *Opium and Labour*, International Labour Office, Geneva, Studies and Reports Series B, No. 22, 1935, p. 41.

psychological connection with indulgence in opium smoking and appears to be most prevalent where this is tolerated by the local mores and by the authorities. In emigrant community X there were two open gambling places, but both were closed in 1935 by order of the army of the central government. In emigrant community Y we were told:

"Gambling is strictly prohibited here. Our kinsmen from Penang have frequently warned us in their letters that at least all young people should entirely abstain from gambling."

In emigrant community Z there were in 1934 eight public gambling establishments which paid a licensing fee of only \$1.20 a day to the local government.

In this matter also the influence exerted by the emigrants is directly related to the extent to which the indulgence is permitted or regulated in the communities where they reside. In Siam and French Indo-China, gambling houses are licensed. In the Philippines, Malaya, and Netherlands India they are not officially permitted, though they are rarely raided. Gambling, as is well known also in America, is sometimes wilfully encouraged by employers and labour bosses as a means of impoverishing coolies and depriving them of their independence in the choice of occupation. Together with opium smoking, it has a most serious effect on the economic advancement of the labouring masses. The writer saw an example of this on the occasion of his visit to Bangka in 1935 when he inspected some homes for old men in the mining districts. Not all the Chinese labourers in these homes had been working there for a long time, for if they had served fifteen years or more they would have been entitled to a retirement bonus of three guilders per month. Since they were unmarried, this modest sum would have sufficed to keep at least some of them out of the home. In one of these homes, near Pankalpinang, there were 132 inmates whose original homes had been in Kao Chow, Lai Chow, Hainan, Canton, Chao Chin, Yung Hsien, and other places in South China. They had lived here for from ten to thirty years. Most of them were over fifty-five years old. From a conversation with 31 of them, it appeared that of this number two had visited China twice since they first left it, seven once, and the other twenty-two not at all.

They seemed to assent to the explanation of their predicament given by one of them:

"We have no money. Our wages were small; and gambling and opium smoking have taken the little we could save from these small earnings."

Gambling among the tin miners was seen to be carried on freely during the intermission between shifts, in other off hours, and on holidays.

The better elements among the overseas Chinese are eager to see the evil of gambling mitigated. On his arrival in West Borneo during the Chinese New Year the writer received a petition from the Chinese leaders in a certain town, which, in part, read as follows:

"Every year the colonial government issues gambling licenses. Certain bad characters of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, disregarding the welfare of their fellow countrymen, secure these licenses to carry on a profitable business. We feel that this matter deeply concerns our national prestige and would like to see the practice stopped."

According to several informants, there is a special cause for the prevalence of organized facilities for gambling in some of the communities with large numbers of returned emigrants: it is the inability of such men to invest their savings profitably, or to find suitable outlets for their own energies in times of general insecurity. While the more socially minded devote themselves to the public welfare, other men of means find nothing better to do than to spend their time in gaming houses and thus set a bad example to those who can ill afford to do likewise.

Prostitution. The relation of gambling to public health is of course, as has been stated, an indirect one. On the one hand it tends to impoverish the most needy classes and to reduce to a dangerously low level the income available to meet the necessities of life; on the other hand, sudden riches encourage indulgences dangerous to health. Especially where it is institutionalized, gambling is often connected with opium smoking and with prostitution.

Prostitution in China plays a social role different from that in Western countries because of the greater rigidity of the family system which deprives courtship of its romance, and marriage of that close intimacy between husband and wife which in more individualistic societies tends to provide for the emotional satisfac-

tions associated with sex. It is only in modern times, and under Western influences, that commercial prostitution has come to be recognized in the East as a serious social evil. The customary acceptance of secondary wives does not eliminate it, for wives are commonly chosen for other reasons as well as for their physical attraction. This, as we have seen, is especially the case in the Chinese communities overseas where the young immigrant, deprived of the comforts and support of his family, often marries to secure a partner in his business, or even to come into closer contact with his non-Chinese neighbours. And just because the earnings of young men tend to be higher in the foreign settlement than they are at home, and because their expenditures are less carefully watched over by older members of the family than they are at home, prostitution plays an even greater role in the Nan Yang than in South China. Another reason is the greater mental predisposition of men who, surrounded by a society with different cultural traditions, find it difficult to live up to the moral principles associated with the very different social milieu of their home in China. An emigrant of the labouring class returned from Siam described his sex experiences abroad in these words:

"I went to Siam as a labourer when I was a little over twenty years old. There I occasionally visited prostitutes in the company of my friends. It was quite common for the younger Chinese workmen to do so. There is a popular saying, 'when the lamps are lit, forget your home'—meaning, when you can spend the evening with a prostitute, forget what your relatives at home in China would say about it."

This man was suffering from syphilis. His experience is probably typical, for the prevalence of venereal diseases in the emigrant communities of South China seems to be out of proportion to the known extent of prostitution in them. In emigrant community Z, about three hundred persons, according to a local estimate, were afflicted with these diseases in 1934; and according to the same source of information, about two out of every five of these cases were introduced from abroad. In emigrant community Y no commercialized prostitution was found to exist. Although there is common tolerance for concubinage in the community, chastity is considered a high virtue, and male sex offenders are either severely punished or forced to go abroad. In emigrant community X, likewise, no prostitution was found, and whatever there was of a

loosening of the traditional sex relations was said to have been brought into the community by returned emigrants. To quote an eminent educator:

"The people of South Fukien have been conservative with regard to their customs. They have always shown great respect for the teaching of the philosopher Chu Fu Tze, the famous commentator of the classics. Through his teaching and influence, local society was noted for its observance of filial piety and its high regard for chastity. Throughout the district, women strictly observe the laws of propriety, and widows remain faithful to their deceased husbands' memory. The public used to erect beautiful arches in their honour."⁸⁴

According to an observant teacher in one of the emigrant villages near Amoy, the unusually high regard for chastity in the region may in part be attributed to the very fact of the old-established custom of emigration and foreign travel.

"A strong sex taboo has developed just because the absence at any one time of scores of married men from the community creates a need for the social protection of the women. Even within the individual household, members of the sexes tend to be more carefully separated than is the case elsewhere."

He added that opium smoking and mild gambling by the women was sometimes encouraged in well-to-do homes, so as to keep them occupied indoors.⁸⁵

Physical Culture. The mixed benefit of emigrant influences on those habits which affect the health of the home communities is given a distinctly favourable balance by the strong insistence on the physical development of the young which is usually associated with the enthusiasm of returned emigrants for education. The schools which owe their origin and support to this interest have also become strong centres for the promotion of sports and athletics in many forms. Although there are many old Chinese games of an invigorating and eurhythmic character, their cultivation is characteristic more of new physical culture movements in other parts of China. In Kwangtung and Fukien, such movements are definitely bound up with the Westernization of educational ideals, introduced by emigrants.

⁸⁴ Lim Bong-keng, "Amoy that Remembers the Mings," *South China Press*, Amoy, September 15th, 1934.

⁸⁵ While this may be exceptional, it seems to be a fact that in many of these communities women other than those who labour in the fields tend to shield themselves more from the sight of men than is customary in China. *The Editor*.

Soccer, basket-ball, tennis, volley ball, and many other foreign games are being played in the school yards and on the playing fields of the schools. In emigrant community X, all of the seven schools previously described cultivate ball games of various kinds. During the last twenty years the schools of this community are said to have captured over one-third of the championships of all the inter-institutional ball games played in the province of Fukien. It was from here that the interest in athletics gradually spread to other regions. Thus, for example, the basket-ball team in emigrant community Y was found to be largely composed of graduates and former students of schools in emigrant community X. In Y, ball games are not limited to the schools, but are participated in by other young people in the community. The ancestral hall and individual kinsmen at Penang occasionally pay the travelling expenses to permit the local basket-ball and volley-ball teams to compete in neighbouring towns and villages. In December, 1934, when Hai Chin Hsien held the athletic competitions for the whole *hsien*, our emigrant community Y secured the championship in both the games named.

Western athletics were introduced into South China earlier than in other parts of the country. The Chinese had long shown themselves apt in acquiring proficiency in Western games where they saw them played in the Nan Yang. The *Straits Times* of Singapore reported on January 14th, 1885, the organization of a local Straits Chinese Recreation Club to foster tennis, soccer, and cricket among the members. From that time on, matches and games have been held by the club every year at the time of the Chinese New Year festival. Today, the interest of the Straits Chinese in sports is quite general. Their teams frequently engage in contests not only among themselves but also with European and Malayan teams. In Netherlands India the Chinese communities are just as keenly interested in modern sports, especially tennis, badminton and soccer. As in Malaya, the sports activities are not limited to the schools, but extend to young people of both sexes throughout the Chinese community. Here also matches are frequently staged between Chinese and European or Malay teams.

An interest in athletics may not only be the channel of a specific culture contact, but carry along with it other influences. The increase, in recent years, of friendly competition between Chinese

teams from the Nan Yang and from the South Chinese provinces has made for exchanges of views on a great variety of questions. While it may have helped to open the eyes of students who had never left China to many aspects of modern civilization with which they could not have been familiar, it was the occasion, on the other hand, according to statements heard in Java, for patriotic inspiration of those in the Nan Yang who, after these contacts, showed a deepened sympathy for their fatherland.

Hong Kong has also, of course, long been a centre for the promotion of athletics among members of the Chinese community who carried this interest to many parts of China itself. Organized teams of Chinese took part in Western sports contests before the turn of the century. In 1904, a soccer club was organized in the colony. Today, the Chinese in Hong Kong are said to have the strongest athletic association in South China. Canton naturally became quite early an important centre of athletic activities. Tennis and soccer here were reported to be popular in 1905, largely owing to the efforts of an organization which in 1909 was known as the United Athletic Association of Kwangtung. From Canton the interest in Western sports rapidly spread over the whole of the two southern sea-coast provinces. The South Fukien Athletic Association was organized in 1912 with headquarters in Kulangsu, opposite Amoy.⁸⁶

The total impact of this mainly recreational influence on the life of South China can hardly be exaggerated. In many instances, the display of foreign sports goods is the only outward evidence of modernization in the life of communities which in the main seem to follow the traditional mode of life. Nor is the influence a marginal and superficial one. Changes in diet and personal habits often spring from the desire to win a game. An Amoy banker said:

"When foreigners first introduced lawn tennis here, I was sometimes asked how much people were paid to engage in this strenuous ritual. Today, the game is played by many Chinese whose grandfathers would have frowned on any kind of physical exertion as unworthy of an educated man."

⁸⁶ G. S. Hch, *Physical Education in China*, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1926, pp. 185-201.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND ENTERPRISE

IN THE PRECEDING chapters we have surveyed changes in the mode of life that must, in the main, be attributed to the personal influences of men who are living or have lived abroad. The totality of influences that make themselves felt through this personal channel of transmission is only part of that impact from abroad. There are also socially organized channels of culture transmission, and influences that affect institutions rather than individuals.

The emigrant is culturally the product not only of his home but of the community whose roots may not only be deeper but, in an ethnically heterogeneous population, different from those of his family. In the Nan Yang, his tastes and desires will be modified by what he himself learns through contact with people of other cultures; but they will be modified also by influences that are effective in shaping the community life of the Chinese settlement of which he is a part, even when they barely touch him personally. This accounts for the fact that many humble folk who are known to have had little direct experience of European culture nevertheless often become the instruments for the transmission of some of its central principles and aspirations. They acquire these through the contagious enthusiasm of leaders of their own Chinese community in the Nan Yang.

These more general social influences differ from the personal ones, which are effective in changed individual value judgments, in that they more largely take the form of socially organized enterprise, or relate to matters involving the community at large rather than the individual household. Whether in its totality the impact of personal or that of social forces is more important in a given situation, it would be difficult to judge because, of course, they are closely related and interwoven. There can be no question, however, that at a time of widespread poverty and insecurity like

that which in recent times has prevailed in the maritime provinces of South China, the influences on the life of the community that come through social channels, or affect the organized social life of the community, have a more than normal significance: changed objectives in the administration of clan funds, new plans for the defence of the community—implemented with funds from new sources—corporative and co-operative business enterprises, public improvements, and the organization of schools and hospitals, become the main currents of the common purpose, fed by the many rivulets of individual purpose.

Some of the forces which it was found convenient to discuss in previous chapters with a view to individual experiences might with equal logic have been treated in those to follow, with larger emphasis on the collective experience from which they arise and to which they contribute. The two sections of our study are necessarily overlapping, and the reader is invited to refer back from time to time to previous sections that contain illustrative material bearing upon the topics here under review.

Through prolonged residence in the Nan Yang, Chinese emigrants and their descendants have naturally widened their knowledge, not only of traits that enter into the conduct of individual lives, but also of social habits, customs and mores at variance with those traditionally part of Chinese culture. Especially the more educated among them came to realize that many of the things which they admired in the life of their non-Chinese neighbours were parts of a civilization and not merely individual achievements. Their pride in the ancient civilization of their homeland did not blind them to the many lessons which other civilizations might contain for the improvement of social conditions in China. Even those whose social ambition did not reach far beyond the desire to accumulate possessions and to raise the status of their own families could hardly fail to recognize the connection between such satisfactions, as they observed them in a strange land, and the socially conditioned customs and institutions of that land. They saw that certain techniques, living habits and disciplines, with which they had not previously been familiar, undoubtedly were of benefit to the individual who adopted them, and would be of benefit also to an individual under the somewhat different circumstances of life in China. But they also saw techniques, habits and disciplines that

could not be transplanted by the individual for his and his family's own exclusive benefit, but could be realized only through social action and for the social benefit.

Aware that many of the evils that beset his home community in South China were the effects of a general insecurity from which everybody suffered, the emigrant saw in the Nan Yang a much more thorough public provision for the safety of life and property than had been customary in China, at least until recent times. He saw that the organized care of the community extended to many matters which at home remained matters of no recognized concern to any public body or social organization other than those made up by blood relationship.

PUBLIC SAFETY

This learning, our study revealed, unquestionably has been transferred by emigrants to their home communities in South China, and borne fruit there in an expanded and more thorough social provision for social needs. In all the emigrant communities under study, public safety is fairly adequately maintained. The social influence of returned emigrants is exerted primarily in behalf of peace and order.

IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY X

Until about thirty years ago, X was a fishing village with but little land of a sufficient fertility to reward intensive agricultural effort. Most of the men were engaged in fishing and navigation. Some of the more adventurous and unscrupulous became pirates. Though overseas migration from this village started in rather early times, few emigrants seem to have enjoyed any advanced degree of prosperity until about 1915. Since then, an increasing number of successful emigrants have been sending money home, and some of their remittances have been earmarked to defray measures to maintain peace and order in the community.

Early in 1935, while the present study was in progress, the community had about fifteen policemen in its regular employment, their wages paid by the school authorities. These policemen could not only keep watch by day and night but could also, as is frequently the custom in China, act as arbitrators in minor disputes.

The village council is the highest legislative and executive organ of the community. When a conflict between residents occurs the council summons the heads of the families concerned to a conference, and the settlement arrived at is practically always accepted by both sides. If the village is threatened by an attack of bandits, the council calls a meeting of local leaders to decide on measures of collective defence. In case of disputes with other villages, such as a feud which threatened in 1934, representatives of all families take part in the deliberations of the village council. Such disputes, however, now rarely assume a violent character.

According to the older inhabitants, the safety of the community has been adequately maintained since the beginning of the Republic, with the exception of robberies committed now and then by disbanded soldiers. When a hold-up threatened, this village and its neighbours usually agreed on a joint plan to repel the marauders. Six such cases since 1926 have come to the attention of the writer and his associates, and two of them may be briefly described. In October, 1926, a rich emigrant returned from the Nan Yang. One night about sixty robbers broke into his house, wounded him and killed one of his daughters. They succeeded in stealing more than \$2,000 before the village could offer effective resistance. In September, 1933, a gang of about forty robbers attacked a certain Tan family. The villagers came to its help, and the robbers fled without loot.

IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY Y

This community is dominated by one clan with more than three hundred families. Its ancestral hall serves as the centre of government for the entire community. Its officers are a manager and a sub-manager, each of whom receives a monthly salary of six dollars, a treasurer with a monthly salary of ten dollars, a board of twelve directors who are heads of families and receive ten dollars each a month, and a secretary with a monthly salary of thirty dollars.⁸⁷ These officers are responsible not only for the safety of the community but also for the schools, social welfare, poor relief, religious rites, and a variety of other duties. The revenue is derived in

⁸⁷ This scale of compensations is interesting as illustrating the high standing of the "secretary" who, to judge from similar arrangements elsewhere, is probably the only member of the governing group competent to compose official documents and correspondence in the literary style sanctioned by tradition. *The Editor*.

part from the income of the clan estate, such as rents on land and houses, but in a much larger measure from remittances made by clan members in Penang, the Straits Settlements, and other foreign regions. Although variations occur, an annual revenue from this source of about \$10,000 seems to be the average. On the expenditure side, communal safety claims about \$2,000 a year. This includes expenses for military equipment, clothing and food for the volunteer guards, and miscellaneous expenses. The volunteers receive no pay, though seven or eight of them share duty every day and night.

Before 1935, the volunteer guard was made up of local men who received a certain amount of civic and military training under the direction of an officer appointed by the clan officials. In the spring of that year, the community, under instructions from the government, selected four able-bodied men to undergo a three months' course of military training at the *hsien* headquarters. The expenses of these men were borne by the clan. On their return, they became instructors to train the young men in the village and neighbourhood, each instructor receiving a monthly wage of twelve dollars. The training course in the village usually lasted three months, divided into three periods of equal length, to suit the convenience of the local people. In addition to the rudiments of military science, general citizenship, athletics, and sports were also taught.

Relying on financial assistance from overseas, this community has for many years now laid proper emphasis on public safety. Banditry, robbery, and theft have become of rare occurrence. One of the local leaders proudly told us the following incident:

"A cloth peddler, a native of Kiangsi, not long ago came to sell his wares in the village and went to stay at a local inn without first reporting himself at the ancestral hall. He was discovered by a volunteer guard and brought to the hall for punishment."

IN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY Z

Without the same homogeneity of population as that in the two communities just mentioned, this cluster of seven villages and one small town is composed of families with many different surnames, an indication that at some time in the past many families have moved here from the surrounding region. Perhaps because of a

history of accommodation necessitated by these origins, a high degree of tolerance has developed here between the families that are not related by blood. An elderly lady in one of the emigrant households said:

"We came here from a neighbouring *hsien* about twenty-three years ago. In our former home village we were members of the minority and frequently ill-treated by those who belonged to the majority clan. In this little community here people do not show that kind of discrimination."

Another special advantage of living in this community was brought to our attention by an old school teacher who declared that the financial burden of providing for the public safety was largely borne by wealthy emigrant families with properties valued at \$50,000 or more. Other families of smaller means enjoyed peace without sharing the financial responsibility and, therefore, were living rather comfortably.

Around this community there is a wall which, supplemented by such natural barriers as a river and several ponds, offers general protection. At strategic points there are 38 watch towers, each with accommodation for from 50 to 125 watchmen. The number of men permanently on guard in each tower varies from ten in winter to twenty or thirty in summer. In the northwestern corner, facing the rice fields and the hills, the number of watchmen on guard is the largest. At the headquarters there is a telephone switchboard, connected with all the watch towers. The guards are chosen by the village council from among the adult men of various families. They serve without pay but receive food, tea and cigarettes without charge during their terms of service. All these expenses, together with those of a reunion in winter, are provided for by the village council. A refusal to serve as a watchman may be penalized by the boycott of his family when it finds itself in trouble; therefore all men are willing to go on duty when called. Each tower is in charge of a captain, and these officers serve under a single commander.

In 1934, this community, by order of the *hsien* government, added a reserve to its public defence force. Males between the ages of eighteen and forty were required to serve—with the exception of those physically weak or disabled, those engaged in the service of the government, party organizations or the schools, and also only sons. Nevertheless, some young men of well-to-do families

whose parents are on friendly terms with the village elders can unlawfully evade this service. The first eight instructors of the reserve force were selected to undergo a three months' training course at *hsien* headquarters. They became instructors with a monthly salary of fifteen dollars. In 1935 the reserve force consisted of 180 men. According to local reports the community has about ninety rifles, most of them modern weapons. There is, however, other military equipment that may be of some use in case of need.

CIVIC ENTERPRISE

The giving of so much detail about the policing and military defences of the emigrant communities under survey has the purpose of conveying to the reader a sense of the importance which even such primitive provision for the safety of the people still has in South China. Public services that are almost taken for granted in Western societies are here among the direct personal responsibilities of the citizens; and, what is more, primitive as they are, even these services would not be rendered in every case by the organized community were it not for the insistence and the voluntary financial support of its emigrant sons who have experienced abroad the blessings of order and security.

Providing for the safety of life and property is, however, only the first step. Communities in South China with large numbers of returned emigrants are usually recognisable also by the fact that they have gone somewhat beyond this elementary stage and entered at least spasmodically and haltingly upon a wider range of experiments in applied citizenship. As in the matter of physical protection, so also in other concerns of local government, social interests cannot be clearly separated from those of individuals and groups. Obviously the watch towers and the guards are maintained, in the first instance, to protect the properties of the more wealthy families—and that usually includes those of the emigrants—but not exclusively for that purpose. The more thoughtful of the emigrants, at least, have come to realize, as they observe the life of foreign communities, that the individual cannot protect his life in the midst of unprotected neighbours; that he cannot protect his health surrounded by filth and the sources of contagion; that he cannot even conduct his business with reasonable efficiency if surrounded by ignorant and prejudiced people. If he finds others of like

mind as himself they are likely to join hands and to become advocates of good government, and practical reformers.

The difficulties encountered by anyone or any small group that would transform the tradition-bound villages of South China during a time of poverty, general unrest, insecurity, and weakness of the central government, will be appreciated by those who know the slowness of reform in rural regions anywhere, even in times of peace and prosperity. Actually what happened was that in different parts of South China many of the emigrants returned from abroad and found themselves handicapped in their effort to create the conditions they desired for themselves and their children in their home villages; they either gave up the attempt altogether or moved to some place where, with others in a similar situation, they might create the sort of environment they desired. Returned emigrants from Australia and America sometimes were able to found new communities. Those from the Nan Yang who were neither as rich nor as closely bound together through previous association, if they wished to stay somewhere near the homes of their fathers, repaired to the nearby port city, there to set up in business or to live in retirement amid surroundings more closely approximating those they had left abroad.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMOY

Amoy was opened to foreign trade as a treaty port after the Opium War of 1842, but until recently the city retained the general characteristics of a small medieval centre of commerce with little importance for international trade. Its streets were narrow, paved with large uneven stone slabs, and, except at noon, the rays of the sun did not penetrate their darkness. Anyone walking down these streets on rainy days was apt to find his oil-paper umbrella damaged by the streams of water pouring from the tiled roofs on both sides. Garbage accumulated on the dank and irregular pavements and, with puddles of muddy water, obstructed the passage. Flies swarmed and bred disease.

This description which today is still essentially true of many other towns in South China would be libellous if applied to present-day Amoy. A foreign pastor of an old church there told the writer:

"Amoy has made remarkable progress in civic reforms. In 1919, the local Civic Reform Society was organized to build roads and to combat disease.

Shortly after, the Kai Yuan Road was built, a wide and macadamized street, and attracted large crowds, especially on Saturdays and Sundays. Men and women, old and young, liked to promenade there. Department stores sprang up on both sides, and the street became the town's shopping centre."

As a matter of fact, before the building of this wide street, there was another one, also constructed with the motive of civic improvement.

"When I was a middle-school student, the most popular street in town was the small macadamized road in front of the Y.M.C.A. Because the road was always kept clean, it attracted large crowds on holidays. At that time, the Y.M.C.A. was the social centre of the city since it often offered music, ball games, motion pictures and lectures—not to mention foreign-style meals. After the Kai Yuan Road was finished, the centre of social activity shifted there."

The shifting of the city's social centre just referred to was in a way symbolic of the modernization of Amoy. A form of civic activity which in the first instance may have looked like the whim of a few who had come under foreign influence, now was a reflection of new learnings nearer home, in the Nan Yang, and had become the pivot in the city's development. When the writer visited Amoy in 1929 the Kai Yuan Road had only just begun to attract shoppers and pleasure seekers with its modern buildings and amusement houses. The macadamized road in front of the Y.M.C.A. was only 10 feet (Chinese) wide and 300 feet long; the Kai Yuan Road was 30 feet wide and 1,010 feet long. The latter street was also more modern in construction and paved with concrete. In recent years more modern streets have been built: of these the Chung Shan Street, 50 feet wide and almost 3,000 feet long, is probably now the one most up-to-date. The total length of macadamized streets in 1934 was over 80,000 feet. In the winter of that year, when the writer again visited Amoy, the little stretch of macadamized street in front of the Y.M.C.A. had become an insignificant item in the city's modern appearance. Social activities now were gradually shifting away even from the Kai Yuan Road to yet other more recently developed sections of the city. The occasional motion picture shows at the Y.M.C.A. had been replaced by a modern motion picture theatre, financed by an overseas Chinese. Fashionable restaurants and modernistic dance halls had been added to the gaiety of life in various parts of the city.

CONSTRUCTION

The old part of Amoy has changed almost beyond recognition. Time-worn houses have been demolished and new ones have taken their place. Waste land has been intersected with streets and made over into sites for residences. New buildings, both in the old sections of the city and the new, are constructed on more modern lines, with greater regard for sanitation and the access of light and air. A modern street development plan has stimulated builders to experiment with new methods of construction; the builders and home owners in their turn have demanded an entirely different kind of setting from that of the old town. In former days, residential houses of more than one storey were exceptional. Wood, brick, and tile were the favourite building materials. Windows—as previously described—faced on an inner court and were too small and too few to admit enough light. The modern buildings are generally of three storeys, with generous provision of windows and balconies. Concrete mixtures of various sorts permit of colourful facades. If the house faces on a main street the ground floor is usually planned as a store, with a front that opens all the way and can be closed with wooden shutters. In purely residential neighbourhoods, houses are detached and provided with gardens. In the new or reconstructed business streets the buildings often are uniformly arcaded to gain additional width, and the sidewalks are separated from the driveway by gutters three feet deep to receive the heavy rain—a form of street construction probably copied from that to be found in Singapore and other Nan Yang cities.

The modernization of Amoy also includes of course, the construction of sewers and the supply of public utilities. It is to be attributed in its entirety to the vision and enterprise of overseas Chinese who were willing to invest heavily in land and buildings. Since 1929, 32 new residential sections have been opened, with a total area of 1,138,000 square feet (Chinese). Near the Buddhist Temple, Southern P'u T'o, lies the most complete suburban development, the "New Village of the Great South", with homes built in part for occupancy by the owners and in part as speculative investments. The residential section near the Hu Ch'i Park is also noted for a large number of modern homes, some of them quite pleasing to the eye. The largest addition to the city's beauty is the Chung

Shan Park which occupies more than a thousand *mow* (167 acres). It is landscaped with artificial hills and ponds, rockeries, pavilions, shrubs, bamboo groves, flower beds, play grounds, amusements, and an art school. According to a local leader, the total cost of the park, including the construction of buildings and equipment, amounted to more than \$600,000.

Though it is known that overseas Chinese have invested large sums in Amoy real estate, the precise amount is difficult to ascertain. According to an estimate of the Public Works Bureau, the city government had between 1929 and 1934 purchased private land to the amount of three million dollars, and spent over ten million dollars on its improvement.⁸⁸

Reclamation of shore lands has been the most spectacular feature of this improvement programme. The city sold most of the reclaimed land to companies or individuals engaged in the real estate business. The private investments in this new and improved land, including building construction, amounts to about fifteen million dollars. The total investment in land and buildings by Chinese of the Nan Yang is estimated to make up about three-fifths of the total amount involved, or more than sixteen million dollars.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ The value of the land acquired and developed is probably much greater than here stated. There has been much criticism of the high-handed condemnation procedure adopted by the city government which has been of uneven benefit to the citizens. Large open spaces, regarded as common property, because of their long disuse, were appropriated at low cost and re-sold to private speculators who were allowed to reap much of the unearned increment of the municipal improvement. More serious still is the criticism—made also in Canton and other modern Chinese cities—that the interests of owners were ruthlessly disregarded in the widening of streets and the laying of new ones through the older built-up parts of the city area. To some extent, such criticism may be discounted, perhaps, by the well-known tendency of owners who themselves have done nothing to improve their properties to exaggerate the value of the sites taken over by the city and to complain of the assessment for taxes levied of what remains to them of their former property even when its value has been enormously enhanced by the civic enterprise. *The Editor.*

⁸⁹ It is impossible to vouchsafe the absolute accuracy of this report, but there is other evidence to indicate its reliability. According to a local real estate corporation, a concern financed by Chinese in the Philippines, most of the important men in the business are overseas Chinese, some of them in business as individuals and others organized in companies. Their investments in Amoy real estate are estimated as follows:

Mr. Oei	Over \$2,000,000	Hsiang Yeh Corporation	\$500,000
Mr. Li	2,000,000	I Nan Corporation	300,000
Mr. Yang	1,100,000	Overseas Chinese Bank	2,000,000
Mr. Huang	2,000,000		
		Total	\$9,900,000

These items, though they do not cover the total reported by the Public Works Bureau, above referred to, include the principal parties to real estate enterprise in Amoy.

Overseas investments in urban real estate assume two characteristic forms: either a wealthy individual buys land and builds on it business premises and residences which he lets directly; or he forms with others a partnership or a company to engage in this kind of business.

The sources of the overseas investment in real estate may be illustrated as follows. After 1928, when overseas Chinese gradually returned to Southern Fukien on account of the world depression, some of them, because of the unsettled conditions in their home villages, temporarily stayed in Amoy. The more wealthy among them, having liquidated some or all of their business enterprises, began to buy land and build houses on it for their own use. Others imitated them. The city authorities and the general public were also earnestly interested in modernizing Amoy—motivated largely perhaps by the impetus which the local schools and, above all, the local university had given to modern modes of living. Enterprising Chinese from the Philippines soon organized the Hsing Yeh Corporation and bought about 2,000 *mow* of land (334 acres) from the Navy near the Buddhist Temple, for which they paid \$100,000. On this site they constructed modern homes at a cost of \$200,000 or more. These formed the nucleus of the "New Village of the Great South". More recently, as the trade of Amoy declined, construction in and around the village has decreased.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Water. The Amoy waterworks were started in 1924 with a capital of \$1,100,000. In 1929, the capitalization was increased by \$400,000, and in 1931 by \$500,000. The company from the outset was confronted with difficulties. The enterprise was new, and the community did not support it with unmixed enthusiasm, but under capable management, the business grew in the course of time. In recent years, the chief source of trouble has been the fact that a rather large number of households and shops somehow manage to tap the water supply without paying for it. Although there are in every community unscrupulous individuals who take unlawful advantage of services supplied by public utilities, the majority of offenders in this instance was a section of the population somewhat outside the police control of the city government. The principal culprits were Formosans under the special protection of organs of

the Japanese government, though without any basis in treaties or in international law. Long before the differences between the Chinese national government and that of Japan assumed an acute form, Chinese law officers were forcibly prevented from extending their control over Japanese subjects. The waterworks company in 1934 estimated that its financial loss from this source amounted to about \$70,000 a year.

Of the relation between the improved water supply and the public health, an engineer of the company says:

"The waterworks is a commercial enterprise largely financed from overseas. It confers a good deal of benefit on the community, though the average person does not pay as much attention to this as to the business aspects. For instance, before the establishment of the modern waterworks, Amoy was occasionally visited by epidemics. These have almost disappeared, and since the purification of the water supply many contagious diseases have become increasingly rare."

Electric light. In 1912 an electric light company was organized with a capital of \$1,400,000. It has had a checkered career, as the business has been hampered by heavy taxation and by the theft of electric current on the part of individuals—again especially Formosans—and also of government offices. Certain government agencies, finding themselves short of funds or in other financial difficulties, sometimes fail to pay or pay for only part of the electric current supplied by the company. The seriousness of the situation was recently revealed when, during one particular month, the company had generated about 970,000 watts of electric current of which only 170,000 watts were recorded on the accounts at the end of the month. Since the latter half of 1935 the company is reported to have employed a Japanese to periodically check the consumption of electricity in the homes of Formosan residents—a measure which is said to have led to an improvement in the company's finances.

Telephone. In 1907 an overseas Chinese named Lin invested \$40,000 to initiate a telephone service in Amoy. Steady progress has been made in the development of this business, but because of political and social instability and the consequent business depression, a net loss of over \$20,000 has been reported. The management of the company has recently been entrusted to another overseas Chinese, Mr. Oei, and the company now fairly steadily reports a monthly income of over \$10,000, enabling it to declare a 5 per cent

dividend on its shares. The capital at the time of writing is \$1,000,000. Branch offices have been established in a number of cities and towns in Southern Fukien, and the service has been widely extended.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SWATOW

For the purpose of the present study, the account given above of the development through the enterprise of emigrants, either returned or still residing in the Nan Yang, of one of the two large port cities of the area under survey, is intended to set into relief and partly explain the lack of such development in the rural home communities of the emigrants. The picture given of the influence of the overseas Chinese on these communities obviously would not be complete without reference to the outlet which their energies have found elsewhere. It would be unnecessary here to describe at similar length the effect which the same situation of frustrated enterprise and civic concern in the smaller towns and villages has had on the development of the other large port city of the area—Swatow. Nevertheless, a few data may be of interest. Swatow, like Amoy, is in many ways connected with the Chinese in the Nan Yang. From its hinterland large numbers have migrated south, and many of the emigrants have prospered. In the city there were at the time of this study sixty-six large "letter offices" and two modern banks doing a considerable business in connection with remittances from overseas. Economic prosperity has led Swatow to modernize itself in various ways. Its incorporation as a city dates from 1929. About the same time, it began the construction of modern streets. Today, the city has paved roads totalling 25 *li*, or more than eight miles, built at a total cost of \$940,000. The revenue for such improvements as these comes chiefly from a tax levied on business premises and retail stores.

Another modern feature is a park with a fine central location, which adds beauty to the city and is a popular place for rest and recreation. Its total cost is estimated to have been over \$200,000.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Water supply. In 1914, the present waterworks was organized by a prominent overseas Chinese named Kao Sheng Chi. He was educated in Japan and some years earlier had been a leader in the

national revolution. His father had gone to the Nan Yang many years before and there had been successful in business. At first, only 1,500 households subscribed to the water service; in 1933 their number had increased to 5,537 out of a total of 30,855 homes in the city. The present daily consumption is estimated to be 930,000 gallons. The company has a capital of \$1,600,000.

Electricity. Shortly after the revolution the electric light company was organized, about the same time as the water works, and Kao Sheng Chi was again the prime mover. This company started with a capital of \$200,000, which has since been increased to \$1,200,000.

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

At the beginning of an era of industrialization such as that in South China, the dividing line between private and public enterprise tends to be less clearly marked than in industrially more advanced regions. Even in Western countries public utility corporations often claim prerogatives which public opinion does not permit to other enterprises conducted in the interest of private profit. Moreover, it is generally recognized that industries, even when carried on solely for the benefit of private owners, often confer important benefits upon the communities where they are located—not least because of the opportunities which they offer large numbers for gainful employment. In the port cities of South China the distinction between modern enterprises conducted for profit and those conducted under public auspices is almost entirely obscured in the public mind, not only because of the great benefits indirectly bestowed by large-scale private enterprise on the community, but also because the far-sighted and energetic individuals who plan and organize such undertakings are often identical with the benefactors who are responsible for improvements primarily motivated by civic sense.

Space does not permit here to enumerate even the more important commercial and industrial undertakings by private companies which started with more than ordinary courage in a time of general uncertainty, and, operated with energy, have helped to transform the two major cities of the area under review. Needless to say, these concerns are always initiated by overseas Chinese and usually managed by persons with overseas experience. Thus Mr. Au Boon Haw,

known throughout China for the imaginative range of his enterprises, has a magnificent plant in Swatow for the manufacture of his most famous product, the patent medicine "Tiger Balm". In its seven-storey building, Eng Aun Tong, are housed the factory and the business departments of the firm, and also the offices of a large newspaper, the *Hsing Hua Daily News*.

One of the industries in various parts of China which owes relatively little to foreign initiative is the manufacture of matches. In Swatow, construction of a match factory was begun in 1931 and completed two years later. The company has a capital of half-a-million dollars. In the spring of 1935 it employed 115 male and 313 female operatives. At that time the company was beginning to feel the serious competition of Japanese matches, imported into Swatow in large quantities under a tariff that did not protect, and there were rumours that the company might have to cease operations altogether in the face of this competition. Excessive taxation; interference sometimes by organs of the local government; the depressed condition of world trade which diminished the advantage enjoyed in foreign markets by Chinese manufacturers operating with lower labour costs; and, above all, the continuing uncertainty and insecurity which characterized the whole period of early industrial developments in this region, were other forces that acted against their success and prevented a more rapid growth. For our purpose, it may be sufficient to remark that the anticipations of the early industrial pioneers proved premature, and were only very partially fulfilled. That any kind of modern enterprise could succeed at all under the prevailing political and economic conditions testifies to the unusual ability and daring of many of those whose experience of business methods had been acquired in the Nan Yang.⁹⁰

Amoy, more than Swatow, has retained the character of a purely commercial and shipping centre for its hinterland. There are few industries of a modern character. On the other hand, there has

⁹⁰ The largest export industry of Swatow (if such it may be called), which is the manufacture of lace and embroidery, does not come under the heading of modern industrialization. Started almost forty years ago by two American women missionaries as a means to enable women to pay school fees and get an education, this home industry has expanded over a wide surrounding area and in recent years had a turnover of a million dollars per year. However, the methods of production have remained primitive, and the business has remained in the hands of foreigners—mostly Americans of Syrian extraction who previously had carried it on with cheap labour in other parts of the world. Visible symbols of America's part in the economic life of Swatow are the large residences, on the best street, of the agents of a sweated trade. *The Editor*.

been a considerable and rapid expansion of modern banking, especially since the onset of the world depression. In 1931 there were eight banks, ten in 1933, and fourteen in 1935. Most of them include in their operations the handling of remittances from overseas Chinese as an important part of their business. Of the fourteen banks in 1935, four were entirely financed by overseas Chinese capital.

COMMUNICATIONS

Modern methods of communication and transportation in East Kwangtung and Southern Fukien are almost entirely due to the efforts of men returned from the Nan Yang. During their long residence abroad, many of them have become familiar with the great benefits of the modern provision of these services to business and society, if not always with the technical details of their operation. Rubber workers in Malaya see large quantities of the raw material transported in trucks from the plantations to the factory. Shop employees notice how quickly imported commodities are distributed from the cities to the interior by steamboats and by trains. The utility and convenience of the telephone and of rapid travel cannot fail to impress the observant Chinese, and to set thinking the shrewd business man who is looking for profitable means of investing money in his Chinese home community in such a way as at the same time to raise its general social and economic standing.

As a result of their observations, cogitations and subsequent inquiries, some of the Chinese overseas have, since the beginning of the Republic, invested large sums in developing facilities of communication and transportation in the home provinces. Even before the onset of the world depression, many merchants—and not only the most wealthy—shifted some of their investments from their business in the Nan Yang to China, to take part in what seemed to them one of the most promising fields of opportunity. For, in China, the rate of interest is higher, in keeping with the larger risk which the investor usually assumes. Men with technical knowledge and others experienced in the conduct of comparatively large enterprises were found to direct and manage railway, steamship, and public bus lines.

SOCIAL BENEFITS

Because of improved transportation facilities, many agricultural products of the Han River Valley, including rice, vegetables and fruit, have secured a wider market, and brought higher incomes to the farmers. According to a recent estimate by a leading produce dealer in Swatow, the annual export of salted vegetables from Swatow, principally to the countries of the Nan Yang, has reached a value of half-a-million dollars a year. Along the Chao Chou—Swatow railway, especially in the environs of three or four stations near Chao Chou, oranges are produced in large quantities. The annual export of these "Swatow oranges", because of the improved transportation facilities, now amounts to about two million dollars in value.

In Southern Fukien, intra-regional transportation was made easier in former years by the Nan-Yang-financed Chang Chou—Amoy railway, and more recently by the public buses and steamers. A large number of local products are by these means shipped to other Chinese cities and to the Nan Yang—among them narcissus bulbs, oranges, pomelos, lungnan (*Nephelium Longana*, Camb.), and lichee (*Nephelium Litchi*, Camb.). From Tung-an Hsien alone, according to a recent estimate, the following volume of local products was shipped in one year:

<i>Product</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Value</i>
Dried lungnan	60,000 <i>piculs</i>	\$1,500,000
Fresh lungnan	600 <i>piculs</i>	21,000
Sugar cane	80,000 bags	80,000
Fish	6,000 catties	10,000

The benefits conferred on the hinterland by modern transportation are not limited by considerations of speed and cost. One of its most important consequences is the greater ease with which fields and stores can be defended against marauders. To quote an official in emigrant community Z:

"If our village should be attacked by bandits, this would not now cause us over-much anxiety. For, even if the community could defend itself only for half-a-day or so, all would be well. At present, the dispatch of soldiers from the *hsien* centre to this town takes only a little more than an hour, and from Swatow about three hours. Ten years ago this would have been absolutely impossible, for at that time sailing junks from Swatow would under favourable circumstances have taken more than a day and a night to get here."

Emigrant community X in southern Fukien, a distance of forty *li* (23 km.) by land from the *hsien* capital, was reached from there before the present bus line was opened by walking for over four hours. Now the same distance can be covered by bus in about forty minutes. In December, 1934, the local police force was one night attacked by thirty or more disbanded soldiers. In less than an hour, assistance came from the *hsien* headquarters, and the attackers were quickly dispersed.

Another public benefit of the new lines of communication is their facilitation of the interchange of news and ideas. When sailing junks were the only means of travel, emigrants usually spent two days going down the Han River from Chao Chou to Swatow. At times, when the water was shallow, it took even longer. But they had to go to Swatow, for in that port it was easier to obtain accurate information about ships going abroad. Since the Chao Chou—Swatow railway has been in operation, the same distance may be travelled in one-and-a-half hours, and from Chao Chou northward a number of villages, previously accessible only on foot, may now be reached by bus.

Formerly, the Swatow daily newspaper reached Chao Chou (85 *li* by water) two days after the date of issue. Today it reaches the hands of the Chao Chou subscriber the same day. Similarly, the Amoy newspaper, formerly reached Tung An (about 60 *li* by water) the following day, and Chuan Chou (about 260 *li* by water) two days after the date of issue. Today, in each case, the reader receives his newspaper the same day. This increased rapidity of distribution, of course, tends to increase the number of subscribers, and enlarges the interchange of ideas as well as information.

The improvement of means of communication accelerates social imitation and thus tends to unify local usages and to break down local barriers. At Tung An a sagacious business man attributed the disappearance of distinct local uses equally to the influence of schools and to that of improved means of communication. He said:

"One day, a pupil in one of our local schools went to a store in the neighbouring village to do some shopping. In this village there was no school, and communication between it and the town was difficult. Seeing a young woman at the store, either the wife or a daughter of the proprietor, the boy became sociable and carried on a conversation with her. Such conversation between members of the opposite sexes was against local usage. The shop-

keeper when he came upon the scene regarded it as an insult, took out a kitchen knife and furiously attacked the intruder. Fortunately, the boy was able to make his escape unhurt.

"Today, in the same village, young men and young women may be seen walking down the street in couples, engaged in conversation, without arousing comment. This would be no novelty here; but in that village it marks what might be considered a social revolution."

INVESTMENTS OF OVERSEAS CHINESE

Railways. The Chang Chou—Amoy railway starts from Sung Hsu, opposite Amoy, and terminates at Chang Chou in the north, about 90 *li* (52 km.) away. Most of its capital came from Chinese in the Nan Yang. Originally it amounted to \$2,427,000, but this was afterwards increased to \$3,300,000. It is estimated that perhaps two-thirds of this amount came from the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies who originally emigrated from Southern Fukien.

In 1905, an eminent member of the local gentry, Chang Heng-chia, proposed to make use of overseas capital to develop Fukien's natural resources by organizing the Fukien Railway Company. Chen Pao-shen, a former tutor of the last emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty, was appointed manager, and efforts were made to sell stock in the Nan Yang. In 1906, to secure additional revenue for building this railway, the provincial government petitioned the emperor to levy a surtax on rice and another on salt in the province, and these taxes were begun to be collected in the latter half of 1907. As only \$1,700,000 had been collected from Chinese residents overseas, the construction of the line was limited to the sector between Sung Hsu and Kiang Tung Bridge, about 56 *li* (32¼ km.). This was completed and opened for traffic in 1910. In 1909, the company, finding that it still did not have enough capital to extend the railway, borrowed half-a-million dollars from the Kwangtung branch of the Bank of Communications. Since the republican regime abolished the surtaxes on rice and salt, the company experienced financial difficulties after 1911. In 1912, it made representations to the national government to persuade it to take over the railway. This offer was accepted by the Ministry of Communications on April 1st, 1913. In July, 1919, the Ministry began to build a wharf to facilitate the movement of cargo by that railway line, but this was not completed for another three years. In 1923, Southern Fukien was in military conflict with Kwangtung, and the region

served by the railway was occupied by Kwangtung troops. From that time on the difficulties of the railway became worse. When, in 1936, a public bus service went into operation between Sung Hsu and Chang Chou, it was impossible for the railway to remain in business, and in November, 1930, the company closed its doors. In 1922 it had reported a total loss of \$1,440,000; since that date, its direct and indirect losses must have been colossal. Throughout the troublesome years during which the Chang Chou—Amoy railway was in operation, various efforts were made either to improve the service, as in July, 1924, or to re-finance the line, as in June, 1933, but on all these occasions the plans failed, because either national political changes or military operations in the province interfered with their materialization.

The Chao Chou—Swatow railway began in 1903, when a Hakka merchant of Java, Chang Yu-nan, was granted by the Ministry of Commerce the privilege to build this line with a capital of \$3,026,000—almost all of which was subscribed by Chinese in the Nan Yang. Construction of the line commenced in February, 1904, with the aid of Japanese engineers. The trunk line, from the west gate of Chao Chou to Swatow, was completed in September, 1906. A branch line, extending from Chao Chou to a village named I Ch'i, covering 15.9 miles, was finished in 1908.

From the very beginning, this railway met with difficulties. On December 16th, 1904, when the line was projected to pass through An Pu—a village which later became a prosperous emigrant centre—the local people, on the ground of geomancy, refused to sell land to the company because such sale would have involved the removal of graves. Disputes arose, and at one time a mob attacked the Japanese workmen on the railway, killing two and wounding four. To the families and beneficiaries of these men the company afterwards had to pay compensation to the tune of over \$100,000.

After the line went into operation it occasionally had unpleasant experiences with the army which commandeered the railway without paying for its services. At the time of writing, the army owes the company about a million dollars. In 1911, 1921, 1923, and 1925, portions of the area served by the railway were flooded, and the railway had to suspend operations—on the last-named occasion for 72 days, at a loss of about \$100,000. The earthquake of 1918 damaged the stations and a dormitory for employees at Swatow, resulting

in a financial loss of \$10,000. On August 2nd, 1922, the tidal wave previously mentioned caused damage to a warehouse and the machine shop, as well as to seven kilometers of track. The company on this occasion suspended service for 27 days, with a total loss of \$100,000. In 1927, bandits attacked a passenger car and killed three passengers. In the ensuing struggle, a watch tower and a length of track were damaged. These are only some of the more extensive losses; there have been many less direct ones which it is even more difficult to estimate. In recent years, however, peace has prevailed along this railway, and the management has been able to improve the equipment and the service in various ways. At the time of our investigation business was good, and the stockholders had for some time received regularly their annual dividend of 6 per cent.

The Chang Lin—Swatow push-trolley line dates from 1914 when two leading merchants of Ta Pu organized a company with a capital of \$225,000 to operate this service. About three-fifths of the capital came from the Chinese in the Nan Yang. In 1916 the line was built as far as Hsia Pu; in 1919 it was extended to Wai Sha, and in 1923 to Cheng Hai, a total distance of about ten miles. The passenger seats in the cars are rattan chairs; each car contains two seats in the special class and four in the common class, and is pushed along the tracks by human labour.

The monthly income from this venture was at first about \$7,000, 30 per cent of which went in wages. Deducting expenses of all sorts, the management is said to have made a net profit of around \$2,000 a month, a pretty good return on the original investment. In 1922, there was a strike, and soon afterwards military disturbance greatly interfered with the business and caused losses. In 1929 all the company's properties were mortgaged to the Bank of Taiwan for a loan of \$100,000. In 1931, when the bus route from Swatow to Chang Lin was opened to traffic, the push-trolley line ceased to operate altogether. Only some miles of track remain to remind the traveller of this short-lived addition to the "modern" transportation facilities of the province.

Steam navigation. In the Chao Chou—Swatow area river navigation is concentrated on the Han River. From Chao Chou northward to Ta Pu, the river has less precipitation, and small tug-boats can go up to San Shu Ho, but from Chao Chu down to Swatow

the river is full of sand bars and not always navigable, especially in winter when the water is usually shallow. Moreover, between Chao Chou and Swatow the railway competes successfully with the river steamers.

Steam navigation on the Han River by means of tug-boats is carried on mainly by three companies, capitalized in large part from the Nan Yang. The Tung Cheng Company is said to have a capital of \$90,000, about two-fifths of it subscribed by overseas Chinese. It operates twenty-six tug-boats with a total tonnage of 3,500, and employs six hundred persons. The company represents an amalgamation, in 1931, of thirty partnerships and family organizations operating 36 tug-boats and employing 1,300 persons. The Li Min Company has four tug-boats which ply between Ta Pu and the upper reaches of the river. Thirty per cent of its capital comes from overseas Chinese. The Ta Ning Company has two tug-boats which ply between Mei Hsien, Sung Kou and Chao Chou. The principal stockholders are merchants in Swatow and Chao Chou. About one-third of its capital is held by Chinese in the Nan Yang.⁹¹

Road transportation. The development of public lines in East Kwangtung and South Fukien likewise is largely due to the initiative, foresight, and sustained effort of Chinese in the Nan Yang. There is today in both regions a network of bus lines running through most of the remote villages which formerly were far from the routes of ordinary travel. In the completion of these networks the provincial governments, the local gentry, and the business communities have all played a part. But the motivating force was, in the main, the pioneering spirit of the overseas Chinese.

The history of this road transportation system in South Fukien illustrates, among other things, the great benefit which the whole population of China may gain from the accumulation of capital and the gain of skill and experience. But it also reflects, in a rather painful fashion, the unstable political and social situation of the region in recent years.

Roughly speaking, from 1912, when the first bus service went into operation in South Fukien, to 1932, when the bus companies

⁹¹ The proportions of capital contributed from the profits of Chinese business overseas probably are much larger than the above figures indicate if to them were added the value of stocks held by persons in South China whose capital originally came from successful business ventures in the Nan Yang.

were consolidated, was a period of growth and confusion. Before 1932, no less than twenty-three bus lines were in operation in the Chang Chou and Chuan Chou area. This large number of bus lines not only caused economic waste to the different managements, in as far as they were engaged in competitive services, but it proved inefficient and a source of inconvenience to both passengers and forwarders of commodities, who had to reckon with uncoordinated time schedules and were often over-supplied with facilities in one area and not supplied at all in others.

In July, 1932, these companies were consolidated, and the United Bus Federation of South Fukien was organized. Since then, the competition between the different lines, which in some instances had operated over only very short distances, was largely eliminated, and the public was given a more efficient service. At the same time the interests of the stockholder were also better protected. For example, in 1933, when the provincial government attempted to levy a gasoline tax, the Federation protested and brought the matter to the attention of the national Ministry of Finance. As the Ministry supported the contention of the Federation, no tax was collected. The next year, when the provincial government contemplated taking over and operating the privately-owned lines, the Federation again was successful in objecting to such a course. Public opinion, when appealed to by the Federation, supported the case for private enterprise.

According to a report of the Federation, the twenty-three bus lines which operated before 1930 covered a total distance of 1,691 *li* (about 974 km.) in the Chuan Chou and Chang Chou areas—about 70 per cent of it in the former and 30 per cent in the latter area. The total investment amounted to \$3,002,000. About one-half of the capital invested in the bus lines of the Chang Chou area, and about 70 per cent of that in the Chuan Chou area, belonged to Chinese in the Nan Yang. As indicating the great differences which at that time existed in the capitalization of bus lines, the comparison as shown in Table 21 may be of interest.

From this table it will be seen that the original capital of the various bus lines in South Fukien was nearly three million dollars. The properties have since appreciated considerably, and in 1935 were said to be worth nearly four million dollars.

TABLE 21. CAPITAL INVESTMENT AND MILEAGE OF PUBLIC BUS LINES IN SOUTH FUKIEN BEFORE 1930

Company	Capital	Mileage (Chinese <i>li</i>)	Average Capital per <i>li</i>
	\$	\$	\$
Chuan-An	250,000	95	2,632
Chuan-Ho	100,000	85	1,176
Chuan-Wei	150,000	81	1,852
An-Ch'i	300,000	180	1,667
Chuan-Lo	50,000	17	2,941
Chuan-Hung	200,000	58	3,448
Pai-Ma	40,000	14	2,857
Shih-Hsiang	300,000	190	1,579
Ch'i-An	250,000	77	3,247
Hsiang-Nan	50,000	56	893
Tung-Lien	47,000	23	2,043
Tung-Ch'i	100,000	36	2,778
Chuan-Hsiun	100,000	18	5,556
Tung-Mei	250,000	34	7,353
Shung-Yang	25,000	30	833
Chuan-Ch'i	40,000	170	235
Ya-Hsing	35,000	11	3,182
Chiao-Tung	20,000	80	250
Lo-Yang	15,000	—	—
Hsia-Shih	200,000	—	—
Fu-Hsing	200,000	260	769
Chang-Nan-Lung	250,000	150	1,667
Kuan-Luan	20,000	20	1,000
Total	\$2,992,000	1,685	1,776

The pioneer bus companies were all financed with overseas capital. As a rule, a company entered into an agreement with the provincial government and was granted the privilege of operating over a certain route for an annual compensation. In addition, the company sometimes entered into an obligation to lend a substantial amount to the province for road improvements. In 1929, the contract between the Construction Bureau of Fukien and the Chang-Lung Bus Company (operating between Chang Chou and Lung Yen) stipulated, among other things: (1) that the company had a monopoly of operating buses over that route for a period of fifteen years, (2) that it was to pay the provincial government a monthly

license fee of \$400 for every 10 *li* (5.76 km.) of highway it used, and (3) that it was to lend the provincial government a sum of \$100,000 for road improvements.

TABLE 22. LOSSES OCCASIONED TO PUBLIC BUS LINES IN SOUTH FUKIEN BY THE COMMUNIST UPRISING IN 1932

Company	Monthly business at ordinary times	Monthly business during disturbance	Loss of business for one month
	\$	\$	\$
Tung Ma-Kuan Chueh	9,966.00	2,347.50	7,618.50
An-Chi	26,705.00	17,158.00	9,547.00
Chuan-An	28,964.50	15,233.50	13,721.00
Chuan-An	56,272.50	41,902.00	14,705.00
Tung-Mei	9,941.00	3,486.50	6,454.50
Li Hsin-Li Lu	3,630.00	420.00	3,210.00
Chuan-Wei	8,827.50	5,627.50	3,200.00
Chang-Sung	27,852.00	10,842.50	16,909.50
Chuan-Lo	3,378.50	2,064.00	1,714.50
Chang-Fou	19,079.50	17,517.50	1,562.00
Chang-Tai	12,998.00	1,011.00	997.00
Chang-Lung-Nan	22,487.00	6,905.00	15,582.00
Shih-Tung	1,394.50	776.50	618.00
Min Li-Li Lu	2,490.50	601.50	1,889.00
Tung-Chi	2,806.50	1,507.00	1,236.50
Total	\$236,793.00	\$127,400.00	\$98,964.50

The political and social instability which prevailed in South Fukien in recent years is reflected in the history of the bus undertakings. It may be illustrated with the case of the pioneer bus company first planned in 1912 to connect Chuan Chou and An Hai. The initiative came from a Chinese merchant in Kobe, Japan; and the capital of \$250,000 was subscribed in part by Chinese abroad and in part by local business men. In July, 1919, all the capital was paid up, and road building started. In the winter of 1921, the buses began to operate. In October, 1922, because of armed conflict between Fukien and Kwangtung, the army commandeered the company's cars without compensation. Between 1923 and 1924 the garrison at Chuan Chou and the Public Works Bureau collected taxes from the company greatly in excess of its original obligation. In 1924 and 1925 there was a brief period of peace during which the bus service recovered some of its losses.

Business continued to be satisfactory until the Kuomintang army entered Fukien in 1926 when, during a temporary state of confusion, the army again made frequent use of the company's property without compensation. When the national forces settled down in Chuan Chou later in the same year, peace and order were re-established. From then on, passenger traffic between Chuan Chou and Yung Chun showed a steady increase, although in the neighbourhood of Shih Si bandits sometimes interfered with the operation of the buses. In 1929, bandits attacked the bus station at Chuan Chou, killing eight and wounding three of the company's employees, and stealing a large sum of money.

TABLE 23. LOSSES FROM DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY
(Bus stations, roads, bridges, etc.)

Company	Estimated loss \$
Chuan-An	5,000
Chang-Sung	17,800
Chuan-Lo	100
Chang-Fou	61,930
Chang-Lung-Nan	75,690
Li-Min-Li	7,920
Lung-Chao	5,430
Total	\$173,870

The experience of this company has not been very different from that of many of the others. Their losses were heavy, in spite of good returns on the capital outlay in normal times. It was unfortunate that so early in the history of this socially useful type of enterprise the region was often devastated by militarists, communists, and bandits. Such disturbances occurred in a number of places in South Fukien in 1932, 1933, and 1934. If we accept the estimate that the period of disturbance in each of these years averaged about one month, the economic losses must have amounted to a huge total. This may be illustrated with the estimated damage resulting from only one of these occurrences, the interruption of normal business in 1932, when the communists, after having occupied Chang Chou, commandeered cars to transport soldiers and food. The losses suffered by the bus lines affected are given in Tables 22 and 23.

In 1933, the Nineteenth Route Army occupied Fukien and, in the name of the People's Government, fought against the National Government. As that army was defeated and gradually retreated to Chuan Chou and Chang Chou, it sometimes made use of the public buses without payment. The consequent losses have been estimated as shown in Table 24.

TABLE 24. LOSSES OCCASIONED TO PUBLIC BUS LINES IN SOUTH FUKIEN BY ARMY OCCUPATION IN 1933

Company	Business loss of one month	Loss due to road destruction, etc.	Loss due to destruction of cars	Total loss
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Chang-Sung	18,853	695	31,800	51,348
Feng Chueh-Kung Lu	2,264	6,300	12,000	20,546
Feng Chueh-Chang Tu	19,000	8,500	38,000	65,500
Hsia-Hung	9,500	6,940	5,000	21,400
Han-Chin	2,280	1,340	3,820	7,440
Chuan-An	37,350	2,200	41,452	81,002
Chi-An	5,000	—	5,500	10,500
Chang-Fou	7,556	22,000	33,000	62,556
Feng-Lo	15,020	4,700	2,900	22,620
Shi-Yung-Kan	1,254	—	9,000	2,154
Chuan-Wei	4,500	450	620	5,520
Chuan-Chi	4,100	2,600	7,800	14,500
Fu-Hsia	3,818	—	4,800	3,618
Chang-Lung-Nan	24,311	24,260	46,400	94,971
An-Chi	22,394	—	6,215	28,529
An-Huang	2,955	—	5,130	8,085
Tung-Mei	21,570	—	6,500	28,070
Chen-Hsing	—	650	1,500	2,150
Shih-Tung	—	—	3,000	3,000
Chuan-Yung-Te	—	—	19,500	19,500
Total	\$201,725	\$ 80,635	\$283,937	\$553,009

The operations connected with the restoration of peace and order after each disturbance were often also a source of loss to the bus companies. The military operations in South Fukien undertaken in 1934 to suppress the bandits lasted about one month, and during that time, the bus companies sustained losses from decrease of normal business, and from services and supplies given the army without sufficient compensation (see Table 25).

TABLE 25. LOSSES OCCASIONED TO PUBLIC BUS LINES IN SOUTH FUKIEN
BY MILITARY OPERATIONS TO SUPPRESS BANDITRY IN 1934

Company	Business loss of one month	Loss from services and supplies without full pay
	\$	\$
Chuan-Yung-Te	12,123.27	118,142.00
Chuan-An	14,753.61	17,105.00
Chang-Sung	7,985.50	33,934.00
Chang-Fou	2,122.99	28,249.00
Lung-Chao	7,835.73	22,982.00
Chang-Lung-Nan	2,574.10	83,291.00
Feng-Chueh	—	65,029.00
Feng-Lo	2,778.64	23,620.00
Yen-Chao	—	26,140.00
Chuan-Lien	2,995.10	12,499.00
Fukien	—	9,364.00
An-Chi	5,361.00	5,476.00
Tung-Mei	1,795.91	3,693.00
Tung-Chi	257.24	2,282.00
Chi-An	3,753.91	1,782.00
Chuan-Wei	—	1,576.00
Chin Kiang-Shih Tung	873.45	1,597.00
Shih-Yang-Kan	1,648.00	1,371.00
Kuan-Luan	90.90	91.00
Total	\$66,949.35	\$458,223.00

Though the accounts given in this Table are not exhaustive, it is clear that the losses suffered by the bus lines in South Fukien over a number of years must have been considerable. The loss of business alone in 1932 has been estimated as amounting to about 44 per cent of that done in normal times. In that year the loss through destruction of property amounted to \$173,870, and the total loss to \$272,490. In 1933, the loss of business was the most severe, about 98 per cent of that done in peace times; this loss amounted to \$201,725. In the same year the additional losses were \$80,635 due to the destruction of roads and bridges and \$283,937 due to the destruction and loss of cars. The total loss for 1933 was \$530,549.

The development of road transportation in East Kwangtung, though not as spectacular as in South Fukien, has also been noteworthy in recent years. The more important bus lines are the following:

<i>Route covered</i>	<i>Distance</i>	
	<i>Li</i>	<i>Km.</i>
Chao Chou to Chieh Yang	56	32
Chao Chou to Yao P'ing	35	21
Chao Chou to An Feng	50	29
Swatow to Chao Chou	72	41
Swatow to Canton	760	438
Swatow to Chang Lin	70	40

The Chao Chou—An Feng and the Swatow—Chang Lin lines have been financed more especially by overseas capital, and are in other ways intimately bound up with interests of Chinese in the Nan Yang. The last named line has a capital of \$320,000, of which more than one-third has been subscribed by overseas Chinese—including \$30,000 from Singapore, \$40,000 from Hong Kong, and \$50,000 from Siam. The building of the road was begun in 1928 and completed in 1932; the bus service started shortly after. This line has always shown good returns, averaging about \$200,000 per year.

The bus line from Chao Chou to Feng Huang in Yao P'ing covers a distance of about 50 *li* (29 km.). Of its total capital of \$40,000, one-half was subscribed by a wealthy Chinese merchant in Annam. Traffic over this line is never heavy, and the company's volume of business does not usually exceed \$3,200 a month.

Compared with South Fukien, East Kwangtung enjoyed a time of peace in the years after road transportation was first seriously taken in hand. Since the Swatow—Chang Lin bus line was opened for traffic in 1932 the company has every year sustained a loss equivalent to twenty days' takings while the cars were commandeered to transport government troops when these were changing their stations. In 1932 there was trouble with communists along this line and one bus was burned, costing the company \$4,000.

* * *

To follow the theme of the present chapter into other phases of the public life would lead outside the scope of the present study.

Primarily concerned with the influence of emigrant Chinese in the Nan Yang on the mode of living in South China, we have singled out for more detailed discussion three characteristic lines of enterprise which closely affect the life of many people: organization for public safety; the development of modern cities; and provision for transportation and travel. It so happens that these three branches—with that of public education, previously considered—also represent the major contributions of both money and energy on the part of the emigrants. We have seen how large are the difficulties with which these men have to contend. Apart from the fact that the great majority of emigrants, whether still abroad or returned to the homes of their fathers, are as yet far from secure in their own economic position, they have to contend not only with the normal conservatism of a community proud of its antecedents and wedded to its traditions, but also with the uncertainties of a period of political change and unrest. An official of the National Government in Kwangtung, contrasting recent conditions in that province with those of the earlier years of the Republic, said:

"The spirit of enterprise among the emigrants now returning from the Nan Yang is as keen as that of the earlier group who built up the factories and department stores and invested their savings in so many large-scale enterprises. But the situation has changed. The difficulty of dealing at times with outbreaks of banditry is not new, but the inability to foresee what the provincial government will do is a new factor. Investments are not adequately protected when there is a constant changing of laws. As soon as a private enterprise makes money, some public authority will try to control it not to absorb it.

"Moreover, rights in land are not always clearly enough defined. In some instances, land long deserted has been offered to returned emigrants, but as soon as capital has been invested in such land, some former owner may turn up; and no one knows whose claim will be recognized by the courts. Some emigrants also suspect that when a public authority generously offers such vacant land, it may plan to tax all the profit away as soon as the enterprise has become productive. It has been so in several instances with mining concessions. Even when such concessions are made in all sincerity, the investor cannot be sure whether they will be recognized a few years later by another set of officials, or whether some superior authority may not cancel it after outlays have already been incurred to make the mine productive.

"For these and other reasons—that is, the greater uncertainty as regards the intentions of the local governments—it has become more risky to invest money in any large enterprise than it has been in the early days of the Republic and will presumably be again when quieter times return."

Testimony concerning the seriousness of difficulty from this source varies with local circumstances and experience. But there is fairly general agreement—borne out, as we have seen, by the material preparations made for the defence of individual and community property—that the danger from banditry is a very real one, especially at times when the provincial government is too weak to control the situation. It is not remarkable, then, that in recent years many overseas Chinese who in former days would have invested their savings in productive enterprises in South China have, instead, kept them abroad; what is remarkable, rather, is that in spite of all the risks and handicaps so many have taken an active part in the development of their home communities.

A Chinese newspaper editor in Manila pointed out that to a large extent the pioneering of overseas Chinese in privately financed semi-public enterprises in South China was linked to fairly definite progressive political and social purposes:

"At one time," he said, "Chinese residents in the Philippines showed little interest in their home communities. Fukien seemed to be overrun with bandits, and they felt they could do nothing about it. But this attitude has changed. Several of the leading Chinese of this city have gone over to help in setting up a government which, backed and protected by the Nineteenth Route Army, might create conditions favourable to enterprise. One of them served in the capacity of commissioner.

"Whatever private motives may have entered in, these are men of idealism and high hope. Only when the Nineteenth Army was defeated after its premature revolt did some of them return, seeing no immediate possibility of realizing the reforms they had at heart. In this, they were influenced more especially by the growing economic penetration and political interference of the Japanese. This element in the situation had already been apparent three years ago (he was speaking in November, 1934); but it was not as serious then.

"Nevertheless, even now, hope for the regeneration of the province is not extinct among the Chinese in the Philippines. They feel that their day will come."

CHAPTER X

RELIGION

IT MAY BE ASKED: "What is it that gives to so many of the Chinese emigrants in the Nan Yang, and especially those of better education, their sustained enthusiasm for reform in their home country, despite the many discouragements disclosed in the previous chapter?" The answer to this question is necessarily a complicated one. First of all, there can be no question about the reality of their social spirit. The historians of the Revolution are agreed in assigning a large rôle to the Chinese overseas both in its initiation and in its subsequent materialization. The fact that for many generations their families had found economic success and security abroad did not prevent these men from throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the deliverance of their mother country. Mention has been made (in Chapter VII) of some of the difficulties encountered in the colonial countries of the Nan Yang when successful Chinese residents tried to secure a social and political status in keeping with their growing economic standing. But reaction to these conditions does not suffice to explain why so many of them came to associate the movement for the emancipation of their own group with that of the home country. The sources of their spiritual dynamic arise from depths within their inherited Chinese culture. For this reason alone, if for no other, the present study would be incomplete without at least a tentative effort to discover the influence of a foreign environment upon inherited beliefs and social attitudes, an influence which, in the case of the Chinese in the Nan Yang, has predisposed this group for the part it is playing in the reformation of their home communities in South China. But to determine the character of this twofold influence we must begin by briefly describing the rôle of religious beliefs in the life of the peasantry of the region from which this group is drawn.

In the first chapter of this study the theory is put forward that man's struggle for existence—the primary cause of overseas migra-

tion—consists in the effort of a threefold adaptation to the environment. Different energies are called forth by the demands of the natural, the socio-economic, and the psychic or imaginary forces that confront humanity. These energies are, of course, inter-related and seldom appear in readily isolated forms. Nevertheless, the last named of the three requires brief separate description and explanation. We shall try in this chapter to give an account, more especially, of those beliefs and practices which are usually regarded as religious, and which may serve to illustrate an even wider range of men's attempts to adjust themselves to that environment which, whatever its material causes, operates only in their minds.

BELIEF AND PRACTICE

The desire of the peasant to appease the supernatural powers that influence his fortunes is as deep-rooted in China as it is everywhere. Because of the regional differences in common human experience, and because of the age of Chinese civilization, the religious practices adopted with this end in view are many. Reference to the Table on page 156 shows that among the items of household expenditure other than food, clothing, and shelter, that for religious practices predominates over all others both in the emigrant and in the non-emigrant families. These expenditures provide a good index of the prevalence of the religious concern. According to our Table, 92 out of 100 non-emigrant families are reported to incur expenditures on religious practices regularly every month, although during the year of the budget study the average amount spent and its importance in relation to the budget as a whole varied greatly not only between the two groups of households but also between different social classes within each group. With probably few exceptions, if any, these families realize the need for maintaining harmonious relations with the unseen powers. A higher level of education might in theory be expected to make this attempt less continuous and absorbing in the case of families with overseas connections, but on the other hand, the members of the more mobile group are more frequently confronted than are the stay-at-homes with problems that cannot be solved by recourse to experience, and which involve many unknown factors outside individual control. Seafaring always and everywhere has led men's thought to speculate on those unpredictable and seemingly supernatural forces that must be propitiated to ensure

security of life and property. Thus, in the emigrant communities of South China, the safety and welfare of the absent member in the Nan Yang would, in the minds of his relatives at home, require that protection which prayers and sacrificial gifts might help to provide. One of the investigators recorded his impressions of the prevailing religious feeling in the middle-class emigrant families which he had visited in a certain community:

"A majority of the adult men of this community have sailed to the Nan Yang, leaving the women at home. These women often pray to Shen and T'ien for the safety, health and prosperity of the absent members of their families, as well as their own. This happens more especially on certain days traditionally devoted to this practice, such as the first and fifteenth of each month (according to the lunar calendar), on the birthday of Buddha, and that of Ta Pai Kung. On these occasions they usually go to a temple or shrine and carry with them food, fruit, candles, incense, and joss paper as offerings.

"Almost every emigrant family visited was spending money on the occasion of these temple visits. In some instances, there is every reason to believe that the amount reported as having been spent in this way was an understatement, because the member of the household who gave this information did not wish the investigator to consider it 'superstitious'. Thus, one family reported a monthly expenditure of 50 cents on religious rites, when in reality the sum expended was probably more than a dollar every month."

He found women more devout than men in the worship of Shen and T'ien:

"This family spends 95 cents on its offerings to Ma Sheng whose birthday is said to fall on the twenty-third day of the third month. Ma Sheng is the local name for the goddess T'ien Hou Sheng Mu. On that day, crowds of people visit the temple with their offerings. Most of them are women. All members of this family who are now at home are women. Its head is an elderly lady who manifestly is faithful to the traditional beliefs. Her expenses on these occasions are probably more than the 95 cents a month which she mentioned."

Apart from these customary observances, there are the special invocations of a deity in relation to some particular need. Some of the emigrant families, especially those of the poorer class, often pray to Shen for the cure of ailments.

"When someone in my family falls ill and we are not sure of the cause of his sickness, we appeal to Shen or Fu for his recovery. Usually this is effective."

In addition to the recognized religious observances, many acts of the peasants in every-day life have a religious significance; but this is interwoven with other meanings which together form folkways which the simple mind does not examine as to their purpose. The countryman who has grown up amid such practices is quite unconscious of their religious significance, and he performs ritual actions almost without being aware that he is doing so. Indeed, when asked, such persons sometimes deny that traditional rites which they perform every day as a matter of routine, and which are unrelated to conscious purpose, have any religious meaning.

Thus, the totality of wholly and partly religious practices has a background of diverse origins. Some of the sources are lost in the far past; others have several component currents of experience and permit of no easy analysis; yet others can, by analogy with the practices observed in simpler societies, definitely be traced. In these rural areas of South China, established religious practices vary in number and character from locality to locality. Any attempt to enumerate them or to classify them in detail would lead us outside the scope of the present study. We shall confine ourselves to the description of certain practices which seem to have an important bearing on the social psychology of the inhabitants, and which offer an opportunity to note the character and causes of change in recent times.

Broadly speaking, the traditional religion of the villagers includes worship of Shen, Fu, and Yao, and, of course, the ancestral cult. The last named is different in character and associations, being Confucian in coloration if not in origin, while the others derive from Buddhism and Taoism, especially the popular, corrupted and fused aspects of the two religious systems. Their nobler phases have gradually lost ground in these rural districts in the course of their disturbed history which destroyed so many rich temples and the fortunes of so many old families with traditions of refined culture. The picture is further complicated by the introduction of Christianity, both the Catholic and Protestant branches of which have made progress in some parts of the area.

In emigrant community Y, in South Fukien, the religious convictions of heads of families were ascertained as far as was possible. Of 224 of them, 154 expressed belief in Shen and Fu, 60 had no

religious preferences, 5 believed in Christianity, and 5 seemed to be wavering between acceptance and rejection of Shen and Fu.

In emigrant community Z, in East Kwangtung, the religious convictions of the heads of 912 emigrant families could roughly be classified as follows: 664 were found to believe in Shen, 109 in both Shen and the ancestor cult, 90 worshipped Buddha, 27 both Buddha and their ancestors, 12 only their ancestors, 6 were Catholics, 3 Protestants, and one a declared Confucianist—i.e., he confessed exclusive faith in the teaching of Confucius and his disciples.

An enumeration such as this, whether the result of definite declarations of faith or of a subjective interpretation of more general statements made to the investigator, of course, gives us merely a formal aspect of what is an intimate and sometimes intricate mental process. How efficacious, in the opinion of these people, is the Shen in averting disaster from the worshipper or those on whose behalf he prays? How efficacious is he in bestowing positive benefits? To questions such as these no clear-cut answer can be given. Some of them never ask themselves such questions. For them the religious practices are sacred family traditions, handed down from generation to generation. They accept these traditions without questioning and apparently experience no deep emotions in regard to them. Others confess to the gain of spiritual satisfaction from at least some of the rites they practice; they feel convinced that their prayers and offerings have averted evil and brought good fortune. They have unshaken faith, on the basis of a rational interpretation of their personal experience, in the efficacy of the unseen powers which they continue to appease on the required occasions. Here are three typical expressions of that faith:

"I have believed in Fu ever since I was fifteen years old. If there is sorrow in the family I pray to Fu, for it has the power to control Yao and Kuei. If all of us would trust Fu we should all be at peace."

"I believe in the local Shen and Fu. If we offer them prayers there will be happiness in the family, and every family will receive blessings, enjoy longevity, and have numerous offspring. In selecting a suitable date for a wedding or for a funeral, or in making a decision about some perplexing problem, I generally rely on Shen or Fu."

"All members of my family believe in Fu and call upon the deity, especially when we build a new house, when we marry or give in marriage, in sickness, and when a son is going abroad over the southern sea. Only if Fu protects us shall we be blessed. Without him misfortune may befall us."

SPECIAL RITES AND FESTIVALS

From the beginning to the end of the year, the peasants have many occasions on which to perform special religious rites. As is the case with the lesser rites observed in everyday life, these occasions do not always stand out in the mind of the individual as charged with religious significance. For, sociability and festive conviviality are mixed in with the more serious observance of the old symbolic ritual.

The religious holiday does not in every instance imply complete abstinence from work or deviation from the daily routine other than occasioned by the prescribed observance; but most often it is a day set aside for festive celebration. As we shall see later, many of the holidays primarily concern one particular group while others in the community are more marginal participants. The religious holidays of an emigrant community in East Kwangtung, arranged according to the seasons of the year but not classified according to their nature, are as follows:

RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS IN AN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY NEAR CHAO CHOU,
EAST KWANGTUNG

<i>Occasion</i>	<i>Date of Observance (Lunar Calendar)</i>
All "Shen" descend from Heaven	1st day, 1st moon
Birthday of T'ien Kung	9th day, " "
" of Fu Tu	15th " " "
" of Wen Chang Yeh	3rd " 2nd "
" of San Shan Kuo Wang	25th " " "
" of Yuan T'ien Shang Ti	3rd " 3rd "
Tai Yang Shen	19th " " "
Birthday of T'ien Hou Sheng Mu	23rd " " "
Tai Tsu Yeh	8th " 4th "
Chu Sheng Niang Niang	25th " " "
Kwan Kung	13th " 5th "
Wife of San Shan Kuo Wang	6th " 6th "
Tzu Pei Niang	19th " 6th "
Huo Ti Yeh	23rd " " "
Tu Ti Yeh	29th " " "
Chi Sheng Fu Jen	7th " 7th "
Hua Kung Hua Ma	" " " "
Kuei Hsing Yeh	" " " "
Ku Kuei	15th " " "
Chao Tsai Yeh	23rd " " "

Ssu Ling Ti Kuan	24th day, 7th moon
Pa Hsien Kuo Hai	8th " 8th "
Yueh Shen	15th " " "
Yuan T'ien Shang Ti Fei Sheng	9th " 9th "
Hsien Kung	" " " "
Huo Ti (wife of)	15th " " "
Han Wen Kung	" " " "
Yuan Shuai Lao Yeh	19th " " "
Wu Ku Lao Yeh	14th " 11th "
Ascension of all "Shen"	30th " 12th "

In addition to the above, the same community has ten other holidays during the lunar calendar year that have a fairly distinct religious significance, as, for example, Ch'ing Ming (Arbor Day), Tung Chih (the Winter Solstice), which is also related to ancestor worship, Chung Yuan, when prayer is offered for forlorn souls, and Wu Ku Lao Yeh, the thanksgiving festival held in connection with the autumn harvest. The list of these ten not exclusively religious holidays is as follows:

OTHER IMPORTANT FESTIVAL DAYS IN AN EMIGRANT COMMUNITY
NEAR CHAO CHOU, EAST KWANGTUNG

<i>Occasion</i>	<i>Date of Observance (Lunar Calendar)</i>
Ch'ing Ming	certain days in 3rd moon
Tuan Wu	5th day, 5th moon
Ta Pai Kung (Tu Ti Yeh)	29th " 6th "
Chung Yuan	15th " 7th "
Birthday of Ti Tsang Wang	22nd " " "
Shang Yueh	15th " 8th "
Winter Solstice	certain days in 11th moon
Wu Ku Lao Yeh	14th day, 11th moon
Buddha	8th " 12th "
Fu Yao	29th " " "

OBSERVANCES RELATED TO PUBLIC SAFETY

Ta Pai Kung. In the rural districts of South Fukien and East Kwangtung, a characteristic feature of the religious life is the popularity of the Tu Ti Miao, temple for the worship of Ta Pai Kung. In the non-emigrant communities, each village has from two to six such temples; in the emigrant areas, their number rises to from four to eight. The Tu Ti Miao is a small and inconspicuous temple on the roadside, with usually not more than one or two

rooms, in each of which are placed two or three images, with Ta Pai Kung as the chief figure. Though the temple is hardly worth noticing for distinctive architectural or other features, its influence on the inhabitants is pronounced, for they believe that Ta Pai Kung is responsible for the maintenance of peace and safety in the world beyond and therefore requires the worship of everybody in the locality.

Sometimes there is no temple for the worship of this god. A paper image in the home or in the workshop suffices to do him honour; or a stone tablet erected at the side of a grave will serve the purpose. To the average peasant these simple symbols apparently are as satisfactory as would be a regular temple.

Ta Pai Kung is the local title in rural Kwangtung and Fukien for Tu Ti. The name itself, brought by returned emigrants from the Nan Yang, has an interesting story. In the early days, when emigrants from Swatow and its vicinity settled in Malaya and other southern countries, many of them suffered from the tropical environment; some of them succumbed to the oppressive climate, while others fell ill mainly from unwholesome labour conditions. Disease and exhaustion in the course of years weeded out those who for one reason or another failed to become acclimatized. To quote an experienced member of the Chao Chou gentry:

"In earlier times, it was considered a great fortune indeed by any family when its first emigrant to the Nan Yang survived. Such men were affectionately called Kai Shan Ta Pai, or pioneers. The title Kung was later added to show them respect. On visiting the home villages the returned emigrants gradually introduced the cult of Ta Pai Kung to Swatow and the surrounding communities."

In the spring of 1935, when the writer was travelling in Penang, British Malaya, he saw a shrine for the worship of Ta Pai Kung, with a historic tablet which read in part:

"When our people in the Nan Yang speak of Shen, they usually refer to San Pao Ta Shen, which, according to some people, is the spirit of Cheng Ho, the famous eunuch of the Ming Dynasty. When they speak of Fu, they mean Ta Pai Kung. On the tombstone of the latter are inscribed three surnames: Chiu, Chang, and Ma, who are all called Ta Pai Kung."

In a conversation with a well informed Straits-born Chinese at Penang, the writer was later told that during the Hsien Feng period (1851-1861), epidemics in various parts of Malaya claimed a rather

large toll among the early Chinese settlers there. Among the small number of survivors were three persons of the Hakka district, Chiu, a blacksmith, Ma, a charcoal burner, and Chang, a teacher. They were honoured as Kai Shan Ta Pai, and their deeds were remembered, exaggerated, and glorified. Shrines were built in their honour, for the fact that they had survived the early vicissitudes, gave them, in the eyes of other immigrants, possession of unusual powers, and they were subsequently revered as saints.

Among the Chinese in the Nan Yang, the worship of Ta Pai Kung is very common. When a new home or a factory is constructed, offerings to this spirit must precede the digging of the first spade of earth. This reverence is equally prevalent in different occupations and among all the ethnic groups. In Siam, the name Ta Pai Kung is changed to Pan Tou Kung, but there is no important difference in the character or powers attributed to him. When asked as to what particular blessings might be expected from the worship of Ta Pai Kung, an elderly member of the gentry in Chao Chou replied:

"Farmers worship Ta Pai Kung to bless their farms, artisans do the same to bless their workshops. When building a factory, the foreman and the workers give offerings and prayer to ensure their safety. When a factory building is completed, they burn joss paper to send Ta Pai Kung back to Heaven. Some people make their worship continuous if they have a permanent place for these rites. All seek the general blessing of safety, but the members of each occupation also pray for special blessings—the farmers for large yields, the merchants for the success of their ventures, and so on."

Although the name Ta Pai Kung was introduced from the Nan Yang, the people of Fukien and Kwangtung, as a matter of fact, have from time immemorial worshipped a deity of similar character and potency, the Tu Ti referred to. The origin of the Tu Ti cult lies too far back to be traced with certainty. From local people we heard many legends on this subject, some of which may have a historical kernel. There is a popular saying: "Because earth is found everywhere, the worship of Ta Pai Kung (or Tu Ti) exists everywhere." According to some, the Emperor Hsia Yu requested Pai I to flatten hills, drain lakes, and open up new land for settlement. In later generations this deity Pai I was erroneously identified by the people with Pai Kung. In the rural area around Swatow one frequently comes across a stone tablet in the graveyards

giving the deity the title Shen of Earth. Again, in the shrines for Ta Pai Kung, both in South China and in the Nan Yang, there is often a tablet inscribed Shen of Fortunate Virtue, to indicate the god's generosity.

Kan T'ien Ta Ti. In certain rural districts, Tu Ti is known as Kan T'ien Ta Ti. With visible emotion an elderly peasant woman explained:

"All well water in our village is salty, but there is one spring at the foot of the mountain that has sweet water. Is it not because of divine intervention that we have this source of good drinking water? Close to the spring is a temple for Kan T'ien Ta Ti where we all go from time to time to worship."

In folklore, Kan T'ien Ta Ti is erroneously linked up with the last emperor of the Sung Dynasty who was pursued by the invading troops of the Yuan. The emperor, the story goes, one day sought refuge on the top of the Ta Yueh mountain, in Yao P'ing. During the night, in a dream, the emperor learned from the deity of the place the route he must take to retreat safely to the seashore. The emperor later canonized this local god as Kan T'ien Ta Ti.

ORSEVANCES RELATED TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

As has already been intimated, an interesting differentiation of religious beliefs and practices is taking place when from the same original stock—with its common experience on the land—more or less permanent occupational groups branch off which, in addition to the common problems, develop distinct separate concerns of their own. When this process of vocational differentiation continues over a number of generations in a country like China, where trades tend to be hereditary, differences in the need felt for supernatural aid, and in the forms of winning the favour of the unseen forces, may eventually give rise to the concepts of distinct deities. What was at first no more than a difference of emphasis in praise of, or appeal to, particular powers attributed to a single god now becomes a pantheon or at least a cluster of patron saints around some continuing central deity worshipped in common by all the groups. Of this there is interesting evidence in the region under survey, especially in relation to the further diversification of beliefs caused by the different degrees to which different parts of the region and different classes have had experience of travel beyond its confines.

Agriculture. The farmers of Fukien and Kwangtung claim Wu Ku Lao Yeh as their patron god, and allege the identity of this deity with the legendary emperor Shen Nung who first taught the Chinese people the art of ploughing. The date of the festival in honour of this deity varies in East Kwangtung from the fifteenth day of the eighth month to the fifteenth day of the eleventh, with the fluctuation of the harvest season. The peasants realistically fix the date for this religious observance as nearly as possible to the actual harvesting of the crops. In spring time when the seed is sown, and even later in the summer when the fields are weeded, there is always a chance that some pest or other natural calamity may ruin the crop. The feeling of relief and gratitude when the crop is actually harvested is genuine and deeply felt. An old farmer in one of the emigrant villages declared with some emphasis:

"This year (1934) is a good year for us here. There has been plenty of sunshine; and yet the weather has not been so dry as to produce a drought. There has been plenty of rain, but not so much as to flood the fields. In a true sense, we farmers make our living by the mercy of Heaven."

Handicrafts. In a number of trades, the patron god is popularly identified with the founder of the craft. Sometimes, some real pioneer of the craft is historically known, but more often some historic personage is by legend associated with the craft as its patron saint. Thus, in a non-emigrant community near Chao Chou, the carpenters worship Chiao Sheng Lao Yeh on the seventh day of the fifth lunar month, and the incense makers worship Shui Hsien Lao Yeh on the nineteenth day of the sixth month. On the holiday, the members of the particular trade cease work and flock to the shrine for a simple ceremony. They enjoy these "saint days" with their customary amusements, the meeting of friends, and feasting. On these occasions the usually frugal craftsmen sometimes become intoxicated by drinking too much rice wine; the women of the more well-to-do put on their holiday attire, and the children come home with toys.

Commerce. The thirteenth day of the fifth lunar month is usually set aside by the business men for the worship of Kwan Kung. This deity is supposed to maintain justice in their dealings and to create wealth—the latter virtue being especially coveted. The emigrants from Fukien and Kwangtung to the Nan Yang, so

largely drawn from this class, preserve the old tradition, but in some places the name of the deity undergoes change. Thus in Mandor, West Borneo, the chief tablet of the shrine bears the title Shan Hsi Fu Tzu: "a gentleman from Shan Hsi." Historically, Kwan Yu was born in Hsieh Liang, in Shansi province. In an attempt to uphold justice for a common man he violated the law and had to escape to a neighbouring province, now Hopei, where later he became a sworn brother of Liu and Chang in his relations with whom he showed much courage, uprightness, and loyalty. After his death, his achievements were glorified throughout the country.

Fishing and Navigation. As may be expected, the goddess of fishing and seafaring enjoys an especially high esteem and is widely worshipped in the coastal region of the South. T'ien Hou Sheng Mu is universally revered along the sea coast of Kwangtung and Fukien, but as one travels farther inland one meets more and more inhabitants who are ignorant of the goddess. According to the old people on the sea coast, worship of this goddess originated in Fu T'ien, Fukien, and gradually spread to the other coastal villages in the two maritime provinces. Since ancient times the goddess has exercised a profound influence on the thought and lives, not only of fishermen and mariners, but of all who go to sea—and this includes a large part of the population. Thus, in an emigrant community near Swatow, one well-known family alone has, in the course of the last century or more, sent over four hundred of its members to the Nan Yang, especially to Siam.

The grandfather of the principal of a local primary school was said to have been saved from drowning during one of his ocean voyages by a miracle performed by the goddess. Such family traditions abound.

Respecting the origin of T'ien Hou Sheng Mu, the peasants in the coastal villages of Fukien and Kwangtung are fond of telling entertaining legends which vary considerably; none seem to be based on any historical fact. In the records, further accounts appear which show additional variations, both as to facts and as to their interpretation. As an illustration of the way in which historic facts—probably originally relating to more than one person, and the special religious needs of a geographically and vocationally conditioned community—combine to create the character of a saint and deity, a brief reconstruction here of the probable origin of the

seamen's patron goddess, in as far as our present state of knowledge permits the attempt, may be of interest.

Seventy li northeast of Fu T'ien lies Mei Chou Island, which has been settled by Chinese since the Sung Dynasty. Lin Wei-ch'o, an official who resided on the island, had a daughter born to him in the year 960. The infant at the time of her birth surprised her parents by not crying; hence she was nicknamed "Lin the Silent," the name by which she became later popularly known. She learned to read at the age of eight years and, when grown up, was fond of the Confucian classics and of Buddhist sutras.

At the age of sixteen, Lin the Silent was one day sailing in a junk at sea during a storm. The junk turned over, and she swam ashore, dragging her father with her, while a brother was drowned. Shortly afterwards she went out with her mother and sister-in-law to recover the body of the drowned brother. By these acts she became widely known for her filial piety.

West of the islands is Men Chia Hsiang, which is noted for its dangerous cliffs. Here at one time a trade junk was caught in a storm, and the boatmen signalled for help. Seeing this, Lin the Silent shouted to the mariners: "Quick! Go to help!" But as the sea ran high, they did not dare to move. The girl rowed her own boat out (the story does not tell whether with or without assistance from others) and saved the junk. Thereafter, she vowed to remain a spinster and devote her life to charity and especially to be of help to sailors.

After her death, in 987, the inhabitants of the island built a shrine to revere her memory. Similar shrines were later erected in other places in the two maritime provinces, and in the overseas countries where many emigrants from these shores settled. The original shrine has repeatedly been honoured by imperial decrees, and the official's daughter was canonized as T'ien Hou, Goddess of Heaven.

A scholar of the Ch'ing period, Chen Chi-Yang, who lived from 1796 to 1820, characterized Lin the Silent as "a girl on the sea coast noted for her piety and proficiency in swimming." In 1929, the magistrate of Fu T'ien petitioned the government in Nanking that the shrine be kept in good repair, a request that was granted, together with the further request that the shrine be known in future as in honour of Lin the Filial Daughter. A government order was afterwards issued to the effect that her shrine in other provinces should likewise be preserved.⁹²

According to this account, Lin the Silent probably was a real person, unusual not only for her filial piety but as a woman who could swim well and who rendered meritorious services to fishermen and sailors. It was natural that such a person should be remembered and that, as time went on, fact and myth should gradually combine, to keep alive the engaging picture of a legendary heroine.

⁹² Cheng Chen-Wen, *A Preliminary Study of Famous Men in Fukien*, Commercial Press, Shanghai, pp. 231-2.

T'ien Hou is known by the Chinese of the Nan Yang as Ma Tsu, and her shrines are called Ma Tsu Kung. Wherever a Chinese settlement in a foreign country has attained considerable size one is likely to find a hall devoted to the cult of the ancestors and a Ma Tsu Kung for the worship of Shen. In 1863 the Chinese of Soerabaya, Java, established such a shrine so that offerings might be made with due ceremony on the second and sixteenth of each month. In addition to the customary gifts, monetary contributions are solicited on these occasions to buy medicine for the sick, to provide aid for the unemployed and the needy, or to purchase coffins for the dead.

At this point one may note the beginning of yet another transformation of the divinity as originally conceived: in modern times perils of sea travel sink into the background amid the many other risks daily confronted by members of a commercial community, and what has been the symbol of charity exhibited in a particular field of concern now becomes that of general charity and social conscience. At the time when the shrine referred to was built, some of the younger members of the Chinese community had begun to discard the traditional religious practices of their fathers and to confess the Mohammedan faith. This change in religious attitude naturally grieved the elders. The erection of the Ma Tsu Kung was intended largely to counteract the new religious movement before it could make headway among members of the younger generation. The pioneer Chinese settlers of Soerabaya recognized the influence of religion on human life and on well-ordered society. For them the apostasy of the young people was a serious thing. So, on a tablet placed in the shrine built in 1863, they inscribed these words:

"To rejuvenate virtue, to promote righteousness, and to change obnoxious custom we must start with self-cultivation, with civic improvement, and with respect for Shen."

From that day to the present, the worship of Ma Tsu (T'ien Hou) has exercised considerable influence on the spiritual life of the overseas Chinese, not least among them the women. Of course, those Chinese who have attended European schools or have in other ways become assimilated to the modern materialistic civilization no longer have faith in Ma Tsu.

OBSERVANCES RELATED TO DESIRE FOR OFFSPRING

In the rural communities of Fukien and Kwangtung the dominant attitude of the peasants on the duty of preserving the continuity of the family is the same as that in other parts of China. According to the common adage, "to die without heirs is the greatest of the three offences against filial piety." Reverence for the older generation and for the ancestors is intimately bound up with the sense that it is the first duty of a married couple to perpetuate the family. The married woman is anxious to bear children, especially boys. To have many sons is insurance against the calamity of seeing the family tree die out.

Kuan Yin. The peasant woman is convinced that somewhere in the universe there is an unseen power that controls births. This power is commonly attributed to the Buddhist female diety Kuan Yin. Numerous Kuan Yin temples exist in both the emigrant and the non-emigrant communities of the region under survey. The dates of their festivals, however, vary: for instance, of two villages in South Fukien one celebrates the goddess on the nineteenth day of the sixth moon, the other on the nineteenth day of the ninth moon.

When a mother has prayed for a son and actually given birth to a boy, she must visit the temple to express her gratitude. According to the means of her household, this may take the form of a simple memorial tablet of cloth or wood, or that of a more elaborate memorial, the presentation of which gives occasion for a feast and a dramatic performance.

At a Buddhist temple near Amoy the lights were unusually bright one evening, and music poured forth from it. A monk explained the occasion to the writer:

"This is the second service held this month to celebrate a birth. The father is a tea merchant in Singapore. The mother is just over forty years old and has given birth to their first son. How happy the parents must be! The mother has come to thank Kuan Yin for her first son."

In all essentials, Kuan Yin has retained in the Chinese communities of the Nan Yang the well known beliefs and rites associated with her worship throughout China. Her two main claims to human gratitude are her mercy and her blessing of families with

the gift of many children, but in certain places the Kuan Yin temple has changed its name: for instance, it is called Chao Kioh Sze in Cheribon, Java, and Ching Yun T'ing in Malacca, Straits Settlements.

The Winter Solstice. In the communities under study, whatever may be the case in other parts of China, Buddhism and Confucianism seem to be about equally involved in the common religious practices intended to ensure offspring. The influence of the latter may be seen in the celebration of Ch'ing Ming, (Arbor Day,) and that of the winter solstice festival.

In the simple peasant household the ceremony of respect for the continuity of the family usually takes place before the soul tablet of the ancestor, on the dates of his birth and of his death, in the form of food offerings and the burning of joss paper. A more elaborate ceremony is performed at the ancestral hall on the winter solstice day. In this way, a sentiment cultivated in the intimacy of family life finds itself translated into a social sentiment; and the one is as universal in South China as is the other. Since there has been much misunderstanding of the nature and social significance of so-called "ancestor worship", it may be worth while here to give some space to an unadorned description of what actually takes place on these occasions, more especially to bring out the relation between what is usually regarded as the most characteristic aspect of Chinese religion and the universality of religious concepts springing from men's common experience of the change of the seasons and its significance for human life.

Emigrant community Z, in the hinterland of Swatow, with a population of 4,973 families, 942 of which have at one time or other had members residing in the Nan Yang, maintains 52 ancestral halls.⁹⁸ To honour its ancestors, a family usually builds a hall, especially when it has become prosperous. Any branch of the family may build a hall of its own if it is financially able to do so; therefore a number of temples often carry the same family name. Each ancestral hall is endowed with property, the income from which is nearly always appropriated in part for the maintenance of the hall itself and partly divided among the members—

⁹⁸ The 52 halls are owned by 17 families, as follows; 15 belong to Chen, 11 to Lin, 4 each to Tseng and Lan, 2 each to Huang, Li, Yang, Sung, Chih, and one each to Chi, Chang, Ma, Chu, Yeh, Chang, Wu, and T'sai.

usually on the winter solstice day.⁹⁴ For attention to whatever measures are decided upon to preserve the hall and for the administration of its functions, each of the member families is in rotation appointed for one year—at least in principle, for there are occasional deviations when a more continuous superintendence by an experienced member is desired. In addition to the family ancestral halls, there is a common ancestral hall for the community as a whole, in which are kept the soul tablets of its founders.

On December 22nd, 1934 (the sixteenth day of the eleventh moon), the Chen family in emigrant community Z observed the winter solstice festival in its ancestral hall. Since in many parts of China this ceremony is today either obsolete or much simplified in keeping with the change in family relations, discussed in Chapter VI, the more important directions are here reproduced with short explanations:

ORDERS CALLED OUT BY CEREMONIAL OFFICER AND ASSISTANT

- C.O. Beat the drums, open the central gate, come to order.
Officers, attend to your duties. Chief worshipper, take position. Other worshippers, take positions. Bury feather and blood. Wash hands.
- A. Go to washing place. Take towel. Take position.
- C.O. Offer incense.
- A. Take position in front of incense table. Kneel. Offer incense. Offer wine. Touch ground with forehead. Again. Third time. Rise. Take position.
- C.O. Welcome Shen. Bow. Lie down. Chief worshipper and all others do so. Rise. Lie down. Rise. Lie down. Rise. Lie down. Rise.
- C.O. Play music. Make first offering.
- A. Step in front of soul tablets of ancestors. Kneel. Offer cloth, cups, and food. Touch ground with forehead. Rise. Take position.
- C.O. Read prayer.
- A. Step in front of prayer table. Kneel. (Chief worshipper and all others kneel.)
Reader take position. Kneel. (The prayer is read.) Touch ground with forehead. Rise. Take position.
- C.O. Play music. Make second offering.

⁹⁴ It will be noticed that here and in a number of previous passages of this chapter the author abstains from drawing attention to striking similarities between Chinese beliefs and practices and those of other peoples. These are, however, of unusual interest, particularly because both their occurrence and their significance has often been obscured in foreign writings on religious practices in China. *The Editor.*

- A. Step in front of ancestors' soul tablets. Kneel. Offer cups and food. Touch ground with forehead. Again. Third time. Rise. Take previous position.
- C.O. Play music. Make third offering.
- A. Step in front of ancestors' soul tablets. Kneel. Offer cups, food, rice, tea, and Fu Liu.
- C.O. Receive blessing and sacrificial meat.
- A. Step in front of altar. Kneel.
- C.O. Read benediction (Ku Tz'u).
- A. Drink sacramental wine. Receive sacrificial meat. Touch ground with forehead. Again. Third time. Take position.
- C.O. Burn prayer. Burn cloth. Start the fire.
- A. Step to fire place and start the fire. Take position.
- C.O. Say farewell to Shen. Touch ground with forehead, everybody. Again. Third time. Rise. Take back the offerings.

A few points in this ceremony require elucidation. It is obvious that its chief purpose is to honour the dead and to express the pious wish for perpetuation of the family. Although the directions noted above do not indicate this, the ancient ceremony has become distinctly modified by the influence of returned emigrants, both on the rite itself and on the nature of the offerings.

1. The ceremonial officer calls out his orders and conducts the entire ceremony.
2. The assistant usually repeats the orders of the ceremonial officer.
3. The chief worshipper is a direct male descendent of the founder of the family. He is usually an elderly man who holds a relatively high social position in the community.
4. In the Ch'ing Dynasty, the reader of the prayer was a Hsiu Tsai. At present a graduate of the primary school fulfills the requirements. He uses the Mandarin language to pray. The rest of the ceremony is conducted with the use of the local dialect. He prays, among other things, for the health and happiness of the ancestors and invites them to enjoy the feast.
5. The benediction is read by an elderly man who has high social standing, numerous offspring, and sometimes academic distinctions. The benediction contains, among other phrases, the words: "Be blessed by Heaven so that you may have a good harvest, enjoy long life, and have numerous offspring."
6. The first and second offerings are mostly of the traditional kind, but the third offering introduces a novelty which may be ascribed to those who have returned from overseas: after rice, something in the nature of a stimulant is offered. Often this is Fu Liu or *celosia argentea*. Though this plant is of indigenous growth the local people did not in the past use its leaves for this purpose. They are used by the Malay people to wrap betel nuts (*areca catechu*) for chewing, a custom they much indulge in and which has largely

been adopted by Chinese in the Nan Yang. Overseas Chinese have introduced this habit in their home communities and now use it even in connection with the ancestral cult.

7. Formerly a bonfire was started during the ceremony. Today the burning of firecrackers is substituted for this.

8. At the close of the rite, certain participants are given parts of the offerings as gifts and are invited to attend a dinner in the ancestral hall. They include the chief worshipper, those over sixty years old, those who carry academic distinctions—including graduates of primary schools as well as holders of higher degrees—certain important officials, the newly married, and those with new-born sons. Among the gifts distributed are a pig, two catties of sacrificial meat, three catties of mutton for the chief worshipper, two pigs for the old people if over ninety years of age, and two round cakes for the parents of new-born sons.

In some regions of the Nan Yang more drastic changes have occurred in the ceremony. In the homes of some Peranakans in the Netherlands Indies, the soul tablet does not state the name of the ancestor or the dates of his birth and death. Instead, the tablet is a framed landscape painting. This little device is apparently intended to excite the imagination of the worshippers. The custom of Ch'ing Ming, though in a measure still preserved, is not now general among the Chinese in the Nan Yang: they do not always go to worship at the ancestral graves as they do in China. The architecture and plan of the graveyards are in the main modelled after those in the Amoy—Swatow region.

On the other hand, certain rites that have disappeared in parts of China are still to be seen here and there in the Nan Yang. In January, 1935, when the writer visited Soerabaya, Java, he had the privilege of witnessing a mourning ceremony in a Peranakan family. Before the coffin, the "offspring lamps"—vegetable-oil lamps or candles in China—were replaced by electric lights. The chief mourners, the sons of the deceased, wore the head-gear and mourning clothes of white but were barefooted. This obviously was a deviation from tradition influenced by habits acquired in a tropical climate. The chief mourners preserved the old rites of kneeling and prostration, and the guests paid their respect to the deceased by bowing. A Peranakan friend explained:

"The mourning ceremony which you have just witnessed is a genuine expression of filial piety. When this man died, his eldest son was attending a school in Holland. He returned to Java by airplane to be present at the

funeral. The eldest son must wear mourning for twenty-seven months—a custom which, I am told, is being discarded in certain parts of the old country. Tonight the ceremony of 'dotting the tablet' will be performed by a Peranakan of high social standing in this city. Though we have been away from the fatherland for a long time, we still like to maintain some of the customs of our ancient civilization."

OBSERVANCES RELATED TO PARTICULAR OCCASIONS

In their every-day life, the peasants in South Fukien and East Kwangtung make many unconscious adjustments to the imaginary environment. Some of their acts are based on customs the meaning of which they do not remember or fully understand. Others are volitional, such as rites performed deliberately to add to their material or spiritual comfort. Both kinds occur in a great variety of situations, some so personal as almost to escape observation, others of larger social significance, as for example in connection with the building of a house, the location of the site for a grave, the choice of the date for a wedding or a funeral, the digging of a well, or the construction of a river dam.

When the erection of a new house is contemplated, a number of questions are commonly referred to an expert in consultation with the spirit world who will indicate the most desirable location for the house, where doors and windows should be placed, when building should begin, when the main beam should be placed in position, and so forth. This geomancer is supposed to know the secrets of nature, or, as they say, of wind and water, and the conditions that make for harmony between human desires and those of the supernatural powers. In Swatow and its vicinity, the spirit which controls house construction is called Yang Kung Hsien Shih; any house, before it is built, must, so to speak, first meet with his approval, given or withheld through the advice of the geomancer.

In the winter of 1931, some children in an emigrant community of South Fukien were one day baking potatoes at a local shrine. Their open charcoal fire destroyed part of the building and defaced the image of T'ien Hou, the goddess of fishing and seafaring. The terrible news spread to the four corners of the village and threw the community into feverish excitement. Some of the people were fearful of the misfortune that might befall them if the injured

goddess should be angry; others were indignant and wanted to punish the mischievous children, and by this means appease the goddess at once. When mob hysteria was at its height, a geomancer announced:

"The real cause of the fire is that the new house of so-and-so—a wealthy returned emigrant—is in disharmony with the shrine."

Hearing this, the whole mob as one man moved to the house named and pulled it down. The owner who was in Manila at the time instructed his representative to sue for damages in the local court, the seat of which was near Amoy. By the end of 1934 the case had not been settled.

Yet another instance may here be quoted to illustrate the many ways that are open to the geomancers to take vengeance on influential citizens who, having imbibed new ideas abroad, are disrespectful toward their ancient profession. The following conversation was taken down by one of our investigators.

Investigator: "I hear that Mr. Li of your village has recently come home to arrange for the wedding of his son. Is this true?"

A peasant: "Yes, but according to the geomancer the horoscopes of the bridegroom and the bride do not show any day during these next few months that would be suitable for the wedding as an occasion of blessings for the two families. So the marriage has been postponed. As a matter of fact, Mr. Li has already gone back to Phnom Penh (French Indo-China) the day before yesterday."

Fear of the supernatural is re-enforced by many devices of the geomancers who overlook no occasion to assert their esoteric knowledge. In an emigrant village near Chao Chou there live about a hundred families of the same surname, the majority of whose adult male members are now residing in British Malaya. It so happens that the second branch of this family has declined, while the fourth is becoming more prosperous. The village head explained this change of fortunes with these words:

"The southern mountain has the shape of a monster lobster. The graves of the second branch are located at its head and thus far have had numerous offspring and plenty of money. Recently, the fourth branch has unfortunately placed a grave on the right claw of the lobster and caused disharmony to the graves of the second branch. This is why the latter is not doing so well these days."

OBSERVANCES RELATED TO HERO WORSHIP

Yet another category of religious observances might be made up of those which arise from the popular belief that certain persons who have been admired during their lives enjoy special powers in their after-life and can exert a far-reaching influence on the fortunes of the more humble country folk. A few examples, in addition to those already mentioned in passing, will illustrate this aspect of the popular religion.

An Chi Sheng Wang. According to the folklore of Chao Chou, a local son named Hsieh became an official in Yunnan during the Ming Dynasty. At one time he violated a law and was arrested. In a dream he was shown a way of escape by a Shen called Wang K'an. Under the direction of this spirit, Hsieh found his way back to Chao Chou and later built a temple there, whose Shen was called An Chi Sheng Wang. Historically, Wang K'ang lived during the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-265) and was a sub-official of the commissioner of Yung Chang, called Yung K'ai, who was disloyal to the kingdom of Chu. Chu Ko Liang sent an expeditionary force south, but even before it reached its destination, Yung K'ai was killed by his subordinates. Wang was one of the men who from the beginning had declared their allegiance to Chu and for more than ten years had fought their rebel chief. He was appointed commissioner of Yung Chang and, after his death, was revered as a Shen. In 1935 three days were devoted to a ceremonial pilgrimage to the shrine of An Chi Sheng Wang, at a total expenditure of \$5,000. Visitors came from all the neighbouring towns and villages.

"The procession of An Chi Sheng Wang ordinarily lasts three days, on the last of which the largest crowd is to be seen. The celebration includes music, artistically presented pantomimes, tableaux, decorations with artificial flowers and plants, shadow shows, dramatic performances, etc. The three pantomimes performed on these occasions are about historical figures, who appear in beautiful costumes amidst artistic decorations and settings. All these things reveal exquisite craftsmanship and involve large expense."⁹⁵

Cheng Shun Kung. In emigrant community Y, in South Fukien, the inhabitants spend large sums on a shrine called Cheng Shun Kung wherein is housed the image of the Shen Hsieh An. Hsieh

⁹⁵ *Hsing Hua Daily News*, Swatow, March 2nd, 1935.

was a famous general who fought against the northern barbarians (Hsiung Nu) and won the battle at the Fei River in 383. The pioneers of this community are said to have originally come from Honan which formerly had a great admiration for General Hsieh, and paid him divine honours. This tradition has been preserved by the descendents of those who came to Fukien. From there it has spread to the South. During the last hundred years or more several thousand people have left this community and settled somewhere in the Nan Yang, especially in Penang, Straits Settlements. The Cheng Shun Kung in Penang is a gorgeous shrine, built at the beginning of the nineteenth century and kept in good repair to the present day. The shrine in the home community was first put up in 1818 and has been rebuilt twice, in 1878 and in 1917. On both occasions the Chinese community in Penang remitted considerable sums to defray the cost.

Wang Yeh. In at least three villages in South Fukien the investigators noted the worship of Wang Yeh (or Ong Yah in Amoy dialect), yet another case of hero worship. In village R it was stated that Chih Fu Wang Yeh has the function "to inspect and pacify the universe as a representative of Heaven." In the seventh lunar month when his celebration occurs, large expense is usually incurred by the worshippers. In 1934, the contributions for this particular purpose from the local sons in Rangoon alone amounted to \$600. In village S it is customary to worship Li Yuan Shuai and Wang Fu Wang Yeh together. Their original spiritual functions are not definitely known, but they are popularly believed today to be able to maintain peace in the community and, more especially, to dispel lawlessness and banditry. During the procession there is music, lanterns are carried, and firecrackers are burned. In village T the respect shown to Wang Yeh occurs in the tenth lunar month, when the majority of men and women go to his temple and carry on the ceremony in the customary manner. Fowls, pork, and mutton are among the sacrifices offered.

The Chinese of Malacca, Straits Settlements, still observe the day of Wang Yeh, which is locally known as the Wangkang festival. A historical tablet mentions the fact that "Captain Li Chi-tuan was a native of Lu Kiang who left home at the end of the Ming Dynasty and voyaged south over the sea, finally to settle in Malacca. With him were people from Tseng Chia Wan, near Amoy, and

from San Tu." The tablet was erected in the I Ch'ou year of the Lung Fei period which, however, is not known under that name in Chinese history between the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, so that the date cannot be correctly established.⁹⁶ The tablet establishes the fact that the pioneer Chinese settlers of Malacca came from the vicinity of Amoy and brought with them the worship of Wang Yeh, since this was and still is largely prevalent among the peasants of South Fukien.

The first Wangkang festival in Malacca was observed in 1856; thereafter it has occurred at irregular intervals, ranging from five to fourteen years. In 1933 the procession lasted from November 27th to December 8th (the twelfth to the twenty-first day of the tenth moon). The essential feature of the procession is the Chye Lian Kahs (the Waterlily Squad), which is followed by a float in the shape of a ship, called Wang Kang, and next by five images of Wang Yeh. The Chye Lian Kahs and the Chye Lian Taus are very beautifully costumed, in white dresses with red silk girdles. They wear white hats and are barefooted. Marching two by two, there are twenty-five couples in the procession. Each marcher carries a wooden paddle which he swings to and fro when the Chye Lian song (the Waterlily Song) is sung. The Wangkang festival in Malacca resembles that in South Fukien in some respects but differs from it in others. The god worshipped is the same in both cases. The number of his images carried varies. The intended function of the proceedings is somewhat indefinite but has the general motive "to present to Heaven the people's request to inspect and pacify the universe." In Malacca, the ship is burned after the procession; in Fukien, except at Foochow, this practice is not followed. The greatest difference lies in the Chye Lian Kahs for which there seems to be no precedent in the traditions of South

⁹⁶ It is possible that the tenth year of Ch'ien Lung is meant, or 1745. During all the Chinese Dynasties there was only one Lung Fei period of three years, toward the end of the Eastern Chin Dynasty (396-98). As many of the Chinese emigrants left Fukien and Kwangtung either at the end of the Ming or at the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty, they frequently carried with them and transmitted to their descendants pro-Ming and anti-Ch'ing sentiments. From this it may be surmised that they coined the term Lung Fei so as to avoid adoption of the Ch'ing nomenclature in denoting the years. A parallel case was recently found on the occasion of a sale of the Patriotic Debentures which many Chinese in the Nan Yang bought from Dr. Sun Yat-sen in pre Revolution days. Some of these debentures have lately come to the attention of the writer during his travels in the Nan Yang (1934-35). All of them bore various dates of the T'ien Yun period which never existed in the Chinese calendar and was undoubtedly an invention of Dr. Sun to facilitate the financing of his revolutionary activities.

Fukien. The origin of the festival is, of course, legendary. Here is one popular version:

"During the reign of Eng Lock Koon, in the Ming Dynasty, there lived a man who was famous for his supernatural powers. He was a high priest of Taoism, named Teo Tian Soo. The emperor, wishing to test his ability, got together 360 Chin Soos, or scholars, to play music in the basement of his royal palace. When the music was at its height, the emperor sent for the high priest and asked him to stop it. The high priest declared that the musicians were not devils, and that he could only silence them if the emperor would assume responsibility for the loss of their lives. Having received the emperor's assent, he sprinkled a handful of a mixture of rice and salt on the floor and struck this with his magic sword, with the result that the heads of the 360 scholars were completely severed. That very night, their indignant souls appeared before the emperor and demanded the return of their earthly lives from him, a request with which he could not comply.

"The high priest captured the souls by means of his magic and confined them in a casket which he threw into the sea. This casket was later on washed ashore where a beggar happened to be rambling. Eagerly, in the hope of finding valuables, the man opened the box, but to his dismay only the souls came out, taking flight toward heaven. The high priest was again consulted, and on his advice the emperor canonized them as Ong Yahs, or princes, with the title of Tye Tian Soon Siew (Power of an Imperial Justice) and decreed that they should be worshipped in whatever part of his dominion they might visit. Five of them, Choo, Hoon, Tse, Lee, and Pek, have been worshipped ever since by the Hokien people in Chiang Chew Hoo (Chang Chou Fu), Chuan Chew Hoo (Chuan Chou Fu), and Malacca, and also in other countries where there are many Hokien."⁹⁷

CONFLICTS OF OLD BELIEFS AND NEW

Before emigration, most of the peasants had never taken a trip very far beyond the limits of their own village. Their personal experience was generally confined to association with their kinsmen, and the range of their observations did not go much beyond the fields and workshops of their home community. After settling in the Nan Yang, they came into contact with fellow countrymen from a neighbouring province and with members of other races. These contacts, superficial though they often were, naturally broadened their vision, especially if they were observant.

Revolt. In some of them the new experiences occasionally produced strong emotional conflicts which reacted unfavourably upon

⁹⁷ Tan Seng-tee, "The Great Wangkang Festival; Its Origin, History, and Significance"; in the Memento of Wangkang Ceremonial and Procession, *The Malacca Guardian*, November 26th, 1933.

the steadfastness of their adherence to their inherited culture. In extreme cases, comparing their own poverty and ignorance with the prosperity and abilities of those around them, they lost faith completely and saw nothing worth preserving in the religious practices learned in childhood. Shen and Fu they now saw as images made of mud and wood. How can such bestow happiness or avert disaster?

Even the less extreme became distrustful of the old beliefs, and wanted to eliminate them if circumstances permitted. At a Kwan Kung temple in an emigrant village in South Fukien the moustache of the god was one day found missing. On closer investigation, the priest found it hanging on a mulberry bush near by. In a village up the Han River near Swatow the Rain God, having failed to produce much needed moisture in answer to repeated prayers, was one day thrown into the water and picked up later by farmers at some distance down the river.

Scepticism. Such instances as these reflect the emotional turmoil among the more ignorant. The more enlightened among the emigrants tend to react rather differently to the old religious practices which they find on their return home. Their condemnation of these practices is less emotionally destructive. What they implant among their neighbours is a milder scepticism, as may be seen from the following remarks taken at random from the investigators' notebooks:

"I do not believe in sticks of wood. I think efforts should be made to discourage the worship of Shen."

"I neither believe in Shen nor in religion. If Shen protects a man only after he has received offerings, then the quality of that protection is certainly not of a high order. Foreigners do not believe in Shen."

"When I was young I believed in Shen, but not since I have been abroad. The observances demanded by such belief are expensive and not helpful in the practical affairs of life."

Some of the emigrants have opportunities of freely associating with Europeans while living abroad. This association sometimes brings them to a realization that certain habits and certain religious attitudes which they had previously taken for granted as attributes of a normal life, are capable of modification without disastrous consequences. Respecting geomancy, fate, and philosophy of life,

some of the more enlightened emigrants expressed themselves in such ways as these:

"Since I have been abroad, I no longer cling to the old belief in geomancy. I think that if a man is in sound health and willing to work hard he may ordinarily hope to prosper."

"In regard to geomancy, I am wavering just now. Under the influence of the old customs, I am still tempted to pin my faith in it. But when I permit myself to be swayed by my actual life experiences, especially in the latter years, I cannot believe in it now. My son who is still abroad tells me that Europeans do not believe in geomancy and yet are often well off."

"I do not believe that there is such a thing as fate. If one struggles hard, his life will be satisfactory. Whether a man succeeds or not largely depends on his own efforts. After all, fate is deceptive."

"I do not believe there is anything in geomancy or reliance on fate. My husband often writes me letters from the Nan Yang in which he says that they have not in any way helped him in his business there."

Assimilation. Somewhat different from the attitudes thus far illustrated are those of emigrants of broader experience and wider knowledge who have come to see values in both the old and the new ways of living, and who have been more than ordinarily successful in making adjustments between them. They feel that certain of the old social institutions in South China and the mental concepts connected with them must certainly be adapted to changing conditions if what is good in the old civilization is to be brought into harmony with what is good in the new.

Here and there such harmonization is actually taking place. In an emigrant community near Swatow there are twenty-eight schools, thirteen of which are housed in ancestral halls and ten in temples. What the ancestral halls and the temples used to stand for here gradually merges into the new part they are destined to play in a new social setting. In South Fukien a certain ancestral hall is now the office of the village headman, while another has become a dispensary of Western medicine. In another village nearby, physical adaptation of temple premises to new uses even more directly reflects a transitional phase. This temple has three rooms. The two on the side of the yard are used as school rooms, and the central hall is partitioned in the middle by a cloth curtain, permitting use of the front half for the children's indoor games, while the rear half is reserved for religious ceremonies, as of old. This is a not unusual compromise.

Here is another interesting illustration of adaptation: during the Ch'ing Dynasty, when a student had passed his state examination he became a Hsiu Tsai, a scholar, and a Yamen runner reported the good news to his friends at home by posting notices in the village and in the ancestral hall. These notices were written in black characters on red paper. Today, notices of similar appearance may be seen in the emigrant villages of rural Fukien and Kwangtung—but with a different content: the good news bruited abroad states that the boy has successfully passed the final examination in the primary school or in the middle school.

Again, traditionally, rather large wooden signs are hung in the ancestral halls—sometimes from a beam near the ancestral tablets—to record some special honour, service rendered, virtue, or academic distinction achieved by some member of the family. To these tokens of prestige the community has for many generations attached a high value. At an emigrant village near Amoy the writer found such a board hung in the centre of an ancestral hall to proclaim that an emigrant member of that family had been honoured by a certain university in the United States with the degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence!

Conversion. Into several villages in the hinterland of Swatow, Catholic and Protestant Christianity have slowly found their way. A certain Singapore merchant named Huang became a Catholic in that city more than sixty years ago. Thereafter he wrote letters home to his wife in China urging her to become baptized, which she did. About a decade later, Huang returned home and began to do evangelistic work in a small building in his home village. In 1918 this house was damaged by an earthquake, but another has since been rented for the same purpose. At present there are about 150 confessed Catholics in that village. A Catholic Father says:

"As far as I can tell, Christianity already has exerted a significant influence on the lives of the converts. They not only are acquainted with the moral teachings of the Bible but show the effects of their faith in their everyday life. They are now more responsible and more sincere in their dealings and trust each other more than they did before."

In 1872, the first person was converted in that same village to Protestant Christianity. His father was a tradesman in the Nan

Yang, his mother an ignorant but able woman. At the age of forty, after hearing a sermon in the village, she also became converted. Largely through the efforts of that young man, about twenty Protestant churches have since been established in the rural area around Swatow. In one village alone the Protestants number about two hundred. They have a church and hold regular Sunday services, but owing to lack of leadership, church activities are of a rather low standard.

Christian converts in this region sometimes testify at length to the reality of their faith. One of them said:

"I joined the Catholic Church when my father was in business in French Indo-China. My father became converted first, after having long been acquainted with the French Father there. He sent home religious pictures illustrating stories of salvation, and urged me to become baptized. He said 'when you have taken the Christian Sacrament your life will be happier.' I now agree with him, for my life has become richer and more secure."

At Chao Chou, a Christian whose family had accepted the faith three generations earlier, expressed his attitude in these words:

"Jesus persuades his followers to be good men. If we become Christians we cannot gamble, cannot smoke opium, and cannot curse our fellow men. Are not our lives thereby improved?"

Among the Chinese in the Nan Yang the dominant new faith is, of course, Mohammedanism. In the Netherlands Indies, Chinese Mohammedans have long been numerous. In British Malaya, they are usually the offspring of Chinese fathers and Malay mothers.

In the Philippines, Chinese accepted Catholic Christianity more especially in the days of the Spanish regime. In the Netherlands Indies, Catholics have divided the territory with Protestants, in the common effort to spread Christianity, and the former claim a stronger hold on the Chinese in the colony. In British Malaya, Chinese converts to Christianity are not numerous: in 1931 they numbered only 30,738, or about 1.8 per cent of the Chinese population. In the Straits Settlements, Chinese Christians are nearly twice as many as in the Federated Malay States, but there the Chinese population is the smallest as compared with that in other parts of Malaya. Between 1921 and 1931, Chinese Christians in British Malaya increased by one-half (50.2 per cent), while during the same period the Chinese population increased by only 45.5 per cent.

CONCLUSION

To examine a change in religious beliefs apart from the every-day experiences which contribute so much to produce it, is not, of course, a very realistic procedure. The influence of the returned emigrants upon their home communities in the realm of religious beliefs not merely reflects their own, but also the totality of the impacts of foreign culture of which they are the carriers. The time has not yet come when it is possible to judge the net effort of these diverse influences on the community's more basic attitudes.

Most of the specific influences on the mode of living that have been reviewed in this study have their psychological parallels. A change in diet, in the furnishing of the home, or in the raising of children carries with it modifications of old-established tastes and ideas. Even more is this the case with innovations that directly affect the relative prestige of different groups in the community and the social structure as such: new ways of marketing made possible by new facilities of transportation; the economic power exercised by newly enriched emigrants with no especially favourable family prestige; the organization of schools; and many more. It is impossible for religious beliefs and moral standards associated with them not to be influenced by such changes as these.

Yet, as we have seen, the inroads of foreign culture traits upon an old rural community in South China do not proceed at an even rate. Because of the difficulty of the times, some of them—including perhaps the most disturbing ones—have hardly penetrated as yet from the port cities to the interior. Others, on the contrary, have become effective almost to the point where the whole community has adopted them, without necessarily being consciously aware of change. (One may compare, in this connection, the modern banking facilities of Amoy and Swatow, as yet without their equivalents in the hinterland, with the use of modern manufactured utensils which has become practically universal in the region.) The great majority of new culture traits introduced from without lie between these two extremes—that is, they influence only some groups in the population, and these to varying degrees. (Among such one might name, as the most important, the use of schools.)

No matter, however, whether relatively widespread or relatively limited, every material innovation carries with it some effect on feeling and thinking, on habits and on rituals, which cannot but affect in the long run also the more basic folkways and mores. What today may seem a small factor—as, for example, the slowly growing regard for Western medicine, as yet, as we have seen, often without any true understanding for the essential difference between science and magic—may within a few generations completely undermine the structure of popular beliefs. The geomancer's loss of prestige—invisible, it would seem, as precise knowledge takes the place of divination and exorcism—may set free whole streams of native intelligence hitherto held in bond by the institutional embodiment of vested interests in popular ignorance.

The returned emigrants, as has been shown, are in the main quite ordinary and typical sons of the region from which they set out, with much the same motivations in the conduct of their lives as those who stay behind. Their opportunities for coming into more than superficial contact with other cultures are definitely limited. Because of the strength which family tradition and respect for the aged still retains in South China, many of the most thoughtful and alert emigrants upon their return home nevertheless exercise little concrete influence even on the mode of living in their own families. And yet, as one surveys the totality of the new culture contacts and importations produced by emigration and the return of so many of the emigrants, one can only come to the conclusion that the net result is revolutionary in its implications. Just as the Chinese in the Nan Yang have been among the chief carriers of the Republic in its early days, they may be expected to be among the chief carriers of cultural reformation when the time for that is ripe.

APPENDIX A

SOME FACTS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF EMIGRATION FROM KWANGTUNG AND FUKIEN TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE NAN YANG

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION, AS TOLD BY EMIGRANTS

In Chapter I some facts are given to show how the geographical location and setting of the two southern maritime provinces of China favour emigration to the nearby countries of the Nan Yang. To give a more specific account of the operating motives a special inquiry was made in connection with the present study in 1934 as part of the field investigation in one of the emigrant communities in the hinterland of Swatow. Nine hundred and five emigrant families here were interviewed on this subject, and all of these families had, or had had in the recent past, one or more of their members resident in the Nan Yang. Often a returned emigrant himself answered this part of the inquiry; in other instances, especially where the emigrant member was still abroad, the information was given by a close relative. The answers are briefly summarized in Table 26.

If these replies may be taken at their face value, it is clear that adversity of one kind or another has been the chief driving force, and that the attraction of opportunity overseas has been the principal motivation in a much smaller number of instances. Economic pressure may further be analyzed from the standpoint of both individuals and families. The individuals who sail abroad may be too young to earn a living at home, or if old enough may nevertheless be without regular employment. Out of the 905 families, 353 individuals were said to be in the last-named predicament. Decisions affecting an individual career are not, however, often made in China by the individual concerned alone. The cases named, therefore, merge into another category—that of cases

in which, regardless of the individual earning capacity, the insufficiency of the family's property and income or the large size of the family in relation to its economic resources is given as the reason for the decision to have one of its members go abroad. This was named as the chief cause of emigration in 280 of the 905 families.

Previous connections with some place in the Nan Yang may involve a variety of factors. In 55 cases the father or grandfather of the emigrant had already established a store or some other business abroad. In 121 cases, though the family had no independent enterprise of any sort it had relatives or friends with business connections in the Nan Yang. These two situations together are responsible for the emigration of almost one out of every five who left the community.

TABLE 26. PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF EMIGRATION

<i>Cause named</i>	<i>No. of families</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Economic pressure	633	69.95
Previous connection with the Nan Yang	176	19.45
Losses from natural calamities	31	3.43
Plan to expand specific enterprises	26	2.87
Bad conduct	17	1.88
Local disturbance	7	.77
Family quarrel	7	.77
Other Causes	8	.88
Total	905	100.00

The relative importance of natural calamities as a driving force has already been commented upon in Chapter I. In 1922, the tidal wave of August 2nd which flooded a large area provided a particular propulsive force; no less than 31 families were induced by this disaster alone to seek their fortune abroad.

Considering the long established connection of this area with certain communities in the Nan Yang, a surprisingly small proportion of the emigrants were found to be motivated primarily by the attractions of residence abroad when these were not fortified by definite connections there. Desire for gain in itself, for enlargement of business experience, for education, or for adventure, play a small part in the effective causes of emigration here.

In former times, expulsion of "bad characters" is said to have made up a much more important element in the composition of the emigrant group than it does today, but it is probable that the size of this group is understated in response to a direct question, since it includes not only those convicted of crime, but also gamblers, opium smokers and sex offenders. Local political disturbance, likewise, may not sufficiently be indicated by these replies as at least a contributory circumstance: in many instances, its effects are identical with those of a more general experience of economic pressure which makes itself felt in unemployment and underemployment, or in the loss of property.

MODE OF TRAVEL

The present study is not concerned with the details of the historic movement of population between South China and the Nan Yang, nor with those of the modes of emigration in different periods. However, a few illustrations may here be given of the change in the conditions of travel, especially since the end of exclusive reliance on sailing junks and the beginnings of steam navigation. During the transition period large numbers of Chinese left home for the Nan Yang, where in due course they multiplied and created those larger settlements whose influence on the mode of living in South China is the primary subject of this study.

The Amoy junks were usually painted green, especially the bow, and hence were popularly known as the Green Junks. The Swatow shipowners preferred red varnish and their ships were called Red Junks. Recalling his seafaring experiences on the latter kind of vessel, a returned emigrant, eighty-three years of age, one day in Swatow told the writer:

"When I was a boy, our village had eight sea-going junks. On their voyages north they would often call at Shanghai and Tientsin, and carry cargoes of Swatow oranges and sugar cane. On their southward voyages they usually went to Bangkok, carrying beans, tea, and silk as their major cargoes.

"The largest junk carried over two hundred passengers. Usually a passenger took with him a water jar of local pottery, two suits of summer clothes, a round straw hat, and a straw mat. The voyage from Swatow to Bangkok often took a month. After setting foot on the junk, while waiting for it to sail, we could do little but trust Heaven as to our safety during the voyage."

Most of the junks were not, of course, built for long voyages over open water. Sailing as far as Bangkok was not without danger. The principal of a primary school near Swatow told us of the experience of his grandfather when a junk on which he travelled was caught in a storm.

"My grandfather was brought up under the time-honoured family traditions. When a young man, he engaged in seafaring. On one of his voyages his junk was caught by a typhoon, and the vessel drifted uncontrolled to Liu Chiu Archipelago. There both the vessel and its cargo were confiscated by the natives. Carrying with him an image [of the goddess of fishing and seafaring], grandfather later managed to sail on a Shantung-owned junk to that distant province and from there made his way home with difficulty, occasionally sustaining life by begging, and taking a whole year to do so.

"Thinking that the junk in which he set out had met disaster at sea, his family mourned his death. Everyone was happy when he returned; but he had become penniless. Borrowing money from relatives he again built a junk, chiefly to ship lumber to the Nan Yang. On one occasion, when opium was cheap in Singapore, he took a parcel of it on his homeward trip. When the vessel passed Yai Meng (Hainan Island), the customs official recognized it as one usually dealing in lumber and let it pass. Just at that time the burning of opium at Canton had given rise to international complications. Grandfather sold his smuggled opium in Shanghai and made a big profit. He later contributed money toward the building of a dam in the Yellow River for which he received honours from the Emperor."

Some of the villages in South Fukien have for a long time been important centres of emigration. In an unpublished gazetteer of San Tu in Hai Chen the following passage occurs:

"According to certain local genealogical records, when at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty Koxinga started to make trouble in Amoy and its vicinity, certain inhabitants of San Tu, in order to escape the local disturbances, took boat from Kao Pu to become soldiers or to reclaim land in Formosa. During the reigns of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) and Chia Ch'ing (1796-1820) when overseas migration was prohibited by law, certain inhabitants travelled secretly overland to Amoy and there took foreign ships to the Nan Yang. The hotel and food expenses of these travellers have recently been discovered in some old account books.

"In 1877 (third year of Kuang Hsü), when the Small Sword Society was formed to stage a revolt but was suppressed by the local authorities, some of its members sought to escape the law by emigrating to the Nan Yang.

"During the first few years of the Kuang Hsü period (1875-1908), Chiu Chung-Pu of Hsin An village was engaged in steamer service between Amoy, Swatow, and some places in the Nan Yang, calling at Singapore and Penang. Some of the emigrants when they had made money returned home to live,

as they still maintained the old pride in their homeland. San Tu at that time assumed the appearance of a prosperous agricultural community.

"Toward the end of that reign, national affairs took a turn for the worse, and many people emigrated with their families to the Nan Yang. Since the Revolution of 1911, there has been no marked improvement as regards security in some of the villages from which these people came; hence few of the rich emigrants have dared to return home. Beyond the sea they ordinarily enjoy assured peace, and so they think less often of the mother country."

DISTRIBUTION

In popular parlance in South China, no great distinction is made between Chinese who have emigrated and now live overseas and foreign-born Chinese. Not only in law, but as a matter of age-old custom, all Chinese residing abroad, no matter how long or for how many generations, are still regarded as belonging to their home communities in China. So the two groups together make up what is commonly called the "overseas Chinese". The geographical distribution of overseas Chinese is summarized in Table 27.

TABLE 27. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN THE NAN YANG*

Country	Total Population	Chinese Population
British Malaya	4,385,346 (1931)	1,709,392
Netherlands India	60,727,233 (1930)	1,233,214
Philippine Islands	13,055,220 (1934)	150,000
Siam	11,506,207 (1929)	558,324
French Indo-China	20,491,000 (1930)	402,000
Total	110,165,006	4,052,930

* (Sources: For British Malaya. C. A. Vlieland, *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census*, pp. 120-21; for Netherlands India, *Volkstelling 1930*, Deel VII, p. 48; for Philippine Islands, Siam and French Indo-China, International Labour Office, *Opium and Labour, Studies and Reports*, Series B, No. 22, p. 43, p. 33 and p. 34 respectively.)

The majority of the Chinese resident in the Nan Yang came originally from Mei Hsien, Chao Chou, and Swatow in East Kwangtung, and from Chang Chou (Amoy) and Chuan Chou in South Fukien. A smaller number have emigrated from Canton and Hainan Island, Southern Kwangtung, and—more recently—from certain districts in Kwangsi (especially Yung Hsien, Pei Liu and Yu Ling).

Politically, the emigrants are under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Consulates which have in recent years been established in all the

important areas of the Nan Yang. The Chinese born in the Nan Yang are largely the offspring of Chinese fathers and native (chiefly Malay) mothers, and are considered by the colonial governments their subjects. Various names have been given to these foreign-born groups of Chinese descent to distinguish them from the emigrants. In the Philippines they are called "Mestizos", in Netherlands India "Peranakans", in British Malaya "Babas", and in Indo-China "Minh-Huongs".

Siam. The figure given for Siam in Table 27 refers to Chinese immigrants only and is based on an estimate of the Siamese government. Referring to inter-marriage between Chinese and Siamese, a high Siamese official told the writer:

"Indeed, there are so many inter-marriages between our countrymen and Chinese that even the Siamese often find it difficult to distinguish the pure Siamese from the Sino-Siamese. Many of our distinguished men in government service, education, and industry are persons of mixed blood."

If persons of mixed blood are added to the pure Chinese their number in Siam, according to one writer, amounts to about two-and-a-half millions, or about one-fourth of the total population of Siam.⁹⁸

Most of the Chinese in Siam originally came from Hainan in Southern Kwangtung, Mei Hsien and Chao Chou (including the city of Swatow) in East Kwangtung. The last-named group is apparently in the majority, especially those from Chin Hai, Yao P'ing, Chi Yang, Po Ning, Chao Yang and Chao An.

The chief occupations of the Chinese in Siam are various forms of retail and wholesale trade, especially the former. The Chinese, in fact, control the retail trade in most of the country. They are noted for their adventurous spirit—peddlers visiting distant mountain valleys to trade with the natives. Those Chinese residents who have a fair amount of capital do business in the cities. This is, of course, true of the Nan Yang generally. Very few of the Chinese in Siam work on the land, but rice mills and the rice trade are in their hands. Says a prominent Chinese merchant in Bangkok:

"Rice growers are mostly Siamese, but rice trade is Chinese. As soon as the crop leaves the hands of the Siamese farmer it comes under the care of

⁹⁸ Lin Yu, "Two Loyalties in Siam"; *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. IX, No. 2, June, 1936, p. 191.

Chinese who clean it and transport it to the best market for its sale, either in Siam or in other countries. Rice is the chief economic strength of Siam."

The Chinese are influential also in other important trades and industries, while the Siamese are as yet more active in the industries of lesser economic importance. Among the industries and crafts which Chinese dominate, or which are under their management, may be mentioned sugar refining, mining, distilling, forestry, shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, carriage building, and tile and brick manufacture.⁹⁹

Philippine Islands. The tendency of emigrants from particular localities to concentrate in chosen regions overseas is well illustrated by the Chinese communities in the Philippines. While for the Nan Yang as a whole the general picture has become overlaid with a network of relationships established in the course of several generations by different waves of migration, nevertheless the natural conservatism of the people shows itself in the composition of particular settlements. The diversity of dialects and ethnic origins has, of course, much to do with this, but there is also the additional cause that success overseas often attaches to some particular occupation, so that additional immigrants are drawn especially from those communities in South China which specialize in these occupations. The frame of the present study does not permit of a thorough examination of the relative importance of this connection between origin and distribution of the emigrants, which can here be referred to only in passing.

The inhabitants of Chang Chou and Chuan Chou in South Fukien, for whatever reason, have in the main preferred the Philippines as the country of their destination. Of the Chinese in that country a very large number have come from Nan Ang, Ching Kiang, T'ung An and Hai Chin. In addition, the two islands of Amoy and Kinmoy have also furnished large quotas of the immigrants.

The Chinese in the Philippines practically control the retail trade, and have become prominent also in other branches of commerce. Until recent years, about three of every four retail merchants were Chinese. Serious competition has arisen, however, as an unforeseen result of the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods after the Manchurian occupation in 1931-32. Finding their outlet for manufactured goods in the Philippine Islands largely blocked, Japanese

⁹⁹ W. A. Graham, *Siam*, A. Moring, London (1912), 1924, Vol. II, p. 2.

exporters, supported by the large financial and shipping institutions of their country and by their government itself, set to work vigorously to establish their own chain of retail trading facilities in the Islands. Another threat to the Chinese near-monopoly of retail trade in recent years has been the rising tide of Filipino nationalism which found expression in the much debated Book-keeping Law by which the Philippine legislature attempted to force the employment of Filipino clerks and accountants on Chinese retailers, and to force out of business the smaller Chinese retailers who could not afford the addition of outsiders to their staffs, which for the most part is made up of members of their families. Although from these two causes and with the general business depression, Chinese business in the Islands has fallen off, it is still a very important element in the country's economy. In 1933, an authoritative writer said:

"Probably 125,000 alien Chinese are now residing in the Philippine Islands, while at least 750,000 of the most prosperous and influential Filipinos are in part of Chinese blood. They now conduct between 70 and 80 per cent of the retail trade and a large part of the other internal commerce of the Islands. During recent years their power and numbers have been rapidly increasing. Three-quarters of the commercial credit facilities of the country are in their hands. In the great rice regions the Chinese finance the production of this basic food crop and almost completely control the milling and distribution of it. Throughout the Islands the retail lumber trade is almost entirely carried on by them, and they cut and mill nearly 40 per cent of the timber annually put on the market. . . . The total Chinese investment in the Philippines is estimated at more than \$100,000,000, [U.S. Currency], or about one-half of the American investment in all of China.¹⁰⁰

Netherlands India. The people of South Fukien were among the earliest emigrants to the Dutch island empire. Some families have been there for almost two centuries. The founder of the Tsai (Tsoa) house landed in Java five generations ago, in 1753. Hakka and people from Chao Chou (including the city of Swatow) and from Southern Kwangtung have followed the Fukienese. The Hakka began to settle in West Borneo between 1740 and 1745, and were followed there by men of Chao Chou. At first they were agriculturists, engaged chiefly in the cultivation of rubber, pepper and tobacco. Toward the latter half of the nineteenth century,

¹⁰⁰ R. Hayden, "China, Japan and the Philippines." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. XI, No. 4, July 1933, pp. 711-15.

when both plantations and mines grew under European management, the settlers from Chao Chou and many of the Hakka moved on to colonize Bangka, Billiton and East Sumatra.¹⁰¹

The people from South Fukien, though distributed over most of Insulinde, have settled chiefly in Java, Madura, and the eastern portions of the archipelago. They probably number 550,000 and are in the majority among the Chinese residents, about one-half in the eastern sections. In Sumatra (except for Bengalis, where many of them are fishermen) and in West Borneo the South Fukienese are not as numerous as the Hakka and the Chao Chou men. The total number of Hakka in Netherlands India is about 200,000; of residents from Chao Chou there are not quite as many. In West Borneo the total Chinese population is about 43,000, with a majority of Hakka. There are 45,000 of this group in Bangka and Billiton, the two mining centres, 14,000 in East Sumatra, and 65,000 in Western Java. The Cantonese (emigrants from Canton) also outnumber the Chao Chou men: there are about 135,000 of them in Netherlands India, distributed over the islands, but more numerous in East and South Sumatra, Bangka, East Borneo, and Celebes.

The majority of the South Fukienese and Hakka now living in West Borneo were born in the Indies, as evidenced by the sex ratio and the age composition of these groups.¹⁰² About one-half of the South Fukienese in the Indies are engaged in trade and commerce, but those in West Java and Sumatra are largely farmers and fishermen. Of the Hakka in Java and Madura many are engaged in commerce, and a smaller number in industrial pursuits. In Sumatra the Hakka are miners; in West Borneo they remain on the land.

Of the settlers originally from Chao Chou, most are engaged in farming and vegetable growing. In East Sumatra most of them work in the tobacco fields; in West Borneo most of them are farmers, but some are engaged in trade. In other parts of the Indies small numbers are in business and in various industries.

The principal occupations of those who have come from Kwangtung distinguish them to some extent from the other groups. Perhaps two-fifths of their adult males do some industrial work. In

¹⁰¹ *Volkstelling 1930*, Part VII, p. 159.

¹⁰² In 1930, the sex ratio of the Chinese in Java was 1,000 males to 821 females; in the Outer Provinces it was 1,000 males to 515 females. (W. J. Cator, *The Economic Position of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies*, University of Chicago Press, 1936, p. 100.)

Sumatra many of them farm and grow vegetables; in Bangka they are tin miners. In East Sumatra and Palembang they work in the petroleum industry. In this group, immigrants outnumber the local-born—the Peranakans. Many of these immigrants are skilled craftsmen, particularly cabinet-makers. Their skill, however, is gradually lost, as those of the second generation follow other pursuits for which they enjoy a wider range of opportunities than do their China-born fathers.

In the last few years a new stream of immigrants, though as yet small in numbers, has come from certain districts in Kwangsi. Many of these newcomers become tin miners in Bangka. A Dutch mining engineer said of them:

"Those who have just immigrated from the temperate zone are sturdy workers and need little supervision. As to the Peranakans, their constitution seems to have become weakened. Often they do not have much endurance for hard and sustained labour."

British Malaya. On the origins of the Chinese population in Malaya, the two last censuses as detailed in Table 28 give exact information, and the distribution of the five major groups, which make up more than nine-tenths of the Chinese in Malaya, is shown in Table 29.

Most of the Fukienese are engaged in commerce, particularly retail trade, and this accounts for the large number in Johore and other urbanized districts. Singapore alone claims 133,473 Fukienese. In the Federated Malay States they also live for the most part in such cities as Kuala Lumpur, Taiping and Ipoh. Of all the Chinese in British Malaya the Fukienese have a sex ratio most nearly approaching the normal, i.e. 620 females to 1,000 males. The main reason for this is that they have been longest settled in Malaya and that among them the Malaya-born Baba are in a majority.

The Cantonese also prefer city life. There are 125,159 of them in Singapore, Penang and Malacca. They have shown great adaptability, for, although they outnumber other Chinese groups in the large cities of the Federated Malay States, many of them are also engaged in mining and rubber production. The sex ratio among them is 581 females to 1,000 males.

The Hakka are natural agriculturists. Even in the Straits Settlements only a little over one-third of their number are to be found in Singapore. In the Federated Malay States the Cantonese and the

Hakka constitute the chief labour reserve for the tin mines. In recent years Hakka women have increased more rapidly in number than men, bringing the ratio of females to males to 526 per thousand.

TABLE 28. HOME COMMUNITIES OF THE CHINESE RESIDENTS IN BRITISH MALAYA, 1921 and 1931.¹⁰⁸

<i>Place</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>Increase</i>
Fukien (Hok Kien)	380,656	540,736	42.1
Canton (Kwang Fu)*	332,307	418,298	25.9
Mei Hsien (Hakka)	218,139	318,739	46.1
Chao Chou (Teo Chiu)	130,231	209,004	60.5
Hainan (Hai Lam)	68,393	97,894	43.1
Kwangsi (Kwang Sai)	998	46,129	4,522.1
Foochow (Hok Chiu)	13,821	31,971	131.3
Fuchia (Hok Chia)	4,058	15,303	277.1
Others	26,174	31,318	19.7
Total	1,174,777	1,709,392	45.1

* Probably meaning Southern Kwangtung as well as city of Canton.

TABLE 29. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR CHINESE GROUPS IN BRITISH MALAYA, 1931

<i>Origin</i>	<i>Straits Settlements</i>	<i>Federated Malay States</i>	<i>Johore</i>	<i>Kedah</i>
Fukienese	287,125	143,429	73,270	21,894
Cantonese	141,975	226,181	29,585	13,079
Hakka	52,369	211,906	33,588	17,718
Chao Chou	115,123	33,040	35,935	33,045
Hainan	35,679	30,107	25,539	2,761

The men from Chao Chou tend to go to the Straits Settlements. In Kedah, though their number is small, they are the largest group of Chinese residents. In the Federated Malay States they concentrate in Kinta, Krian and Kuala Lumpur. In Johore they

¹⁰⁸ C. A. Vlieland, *British Malaya* (A Report on the 1931 Census), Malayan Information Agency, London, 1932, pp. 79-82.

slightly outnumber the Hakka and the Cantonese. The sex ratio among them is 472 females to 1,000 males.

The proportion of Hainan islanders in the total Chinese population slightly decreased between 1921 and 1931, from 5.8 to 5.7 per cent. There was, however, an increase in their number—particularly of women whose number in the latter census year was five times that in the former. When the Hainan islanders settle in cities many of them become servants in European households, most of the others being retail merchants. In the rural areas they engage in rubber planting, especially in Johore where one-fourth of their number now reside. Before 1921, Hainan emigrants were in the habit of leaving their women at home, hence the 2,510 women attributed to them in the census of that year must have included Cantonese and other Chinese women married in Malaya. Hainan women have since freely migrated to British Malaya, and in 1931 numbered 12,836, making the sex ratio one of 151 females to 1,000 males. Some of the women have returned to Hainan.

Indo-China. The principal occupation of the Chinese in the French colony is trade, though smaller numbers of them also engage in farming, particularly rice growing, in fishing, and pepper and vegetable gardening. These are traditional occupations in which they have long established themselves. In the newer agricultural occupations, including rubber, cotton, coffee, tea, and palm oil, the Chinese are taking practically no part. In recent years, the colonial government has attempted to lessen the influence of the Chinese on business by inducing French banks to loan money to the natives. In this way the native farmer may be able eventually to eliminate the Chinese moneylender who used to lend out money to him at high rates of interest and still does so. The policy of the administration is to let the Chinese continue as middlemen between the governing class and the natives, chiefly to the former's advantage, but to prevent the Chinese from becoming economically too influential.¹⁰⁴ Outside of government circles, opinion about the Chinese in Indo-China is divided.

"Some recognize their ability as workers but are alarmed because they discourage French business. Others consider them a dangerous element when they introduce into the land the political controversies of the young Chinese

¹⁰⁴ E. Dennery, *Asia's Teeming Millions*, J. Cape, London, 1931, p. 160.

and Kuomintang parties. A third group takes the more reasonable position and considers their presence a counterbalance to the indolence of the Annamites. This liberal attitude recognizes that whites cannot labour as yet in most parts of the Indo-Chinese Union, that the natives will not work regularly, and that, consequently, the Chinese will cultivate every acre of available land. The pro-Chinese are opposed to unlimited immigration, but are anxious to have the French benefit by their steady labours upon land owned by the whites."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ T. E. Ennis, *French Policies and Developments in Indo-China*, University of Chicago Press, 1936, p. 125.

APPENDIX B

EDUCATION IN THE CHINESE COMMUNITIES OF THE NAN YANG

THE RISE OF CHINESE SCHOOLS

As has been hinted in the text (see page 159), the progress of education, not only in the emigrant communities but in the two southern maritime provinces of China generally, is largely an indirect result of emigrant experiences abroad which forced the members of the overseas Chinese communities to pay attention to educational matters and to develop school systems of their own. Because of the enormous influence which these developments have had on social thought and the improvement of the mode of living in South China, some of their main features are here described more circumstantially than has been possible in the sequence of the main text.

Adaptation to a new social environment. Before the end of the nineteenth century, the Chinese in the Netherlands East Indies had no opportunities for education except those which the colonial government provided for the children of the administrative officers of Chinese communities. Other Chinese children were not admitted to the local schools. In these circumstances, some enterprising Chinese, with financial assistance from their relatives and friends, invited tutors to come from China to instruct their children. By utilizing the shrines and temples, a system similar to the traditional tutorial system among the well-to-do families in their home villages was evolved. The teachers were usually inefficient and, of course, quite unfamiliar with the conditions in a new country. They could not give their pupils the help they needed to meet these conditions. The equipment was poor, and in the parent group there were few who were competent to direct the choice of subjects and methods. Nevertheless, the spirit was admirable.

A new impetus came from the contacts with China when men close to the Government conceived the idea that it was important to gain and to hold the sympathetic interest of the overseas Chinese in the problems of modernization and national revival which the country was then facing. (See Chapter III.) In 1903, K'ang Yu-wei, the great reformer, after meeting with failure in his reform movement at home, was forced to flee from Peking after the abdication of the emperor Kuang Hsü, and he travelled in the Nan Yang. On a visit to Java, he urged the Chinese community there to change the old tutorial system for a system of modern schools. This advice was followed, especially in Batavia, Soerabaya and Semarang.

In 1905, the Viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, Chin Chun-shuan, sent a special commissioner, Liu Shih-chi, to inspect and encourage Chinese education in the Nan Yang. An educational conference was held at Bandoeng, Java, which was attended, among others, by a number of Chinese majors, captains and lieutenants, i.e. local administrative officers.

In 1906, an Educational Association of Overseas Chinese in the Netherlands East Indies was established in Java, and a number of schools were subsequently opened under its direction and with its assistance. Seeing the growing influence of Chinese education in the East Indies, the colonial government from 1907 on adopted the policy of extending educational opportunities to the Chinese under its jurisdiction.

Nationalism and language. The bond between China and the overseas Chinese, fostered through special missions following those already referred to, brought about a rise of national feeling among the overseas Chinese. The growth of this sentiment was encouraged also by the gradual modification of the severe handicaps which the Chinese government had in the past imposed upon travel and commerce between the maritime provinces and the countries of the Nan Yang. Leaders of the Chinese revolution travelled frequently to the Nan Yang during the first decade of the present century, and leaders of the overseas community came into contact with the new movement of liberation through more frequent visits to their old homes. Through these various connections they not only were brought into the reform movement, but also gained a deeper appreciation for Chinese civilization. Very naturally they made

efforts on their return to develop these new interests, and the establishment of Chinese schools was one way of doing this.

One of the problems connected with education in most colonial systems is that of the language used in the schools as a medium of instruction: shall it be the language of the governing group or the natives? In French Indo-China the government schools many years ago adopted French as the vehicular language: the colonial administrators believed that the use of French would facilitate assimilation and would help to train native assistants for government service as "auxiliaries of French civilization":

"The use of French as the medium in all schools except the rural elementary schools is accepted in principle in the Annamese States of Indo-China. The control of education is centralized, and the traditional connection of the local authorities with it, recently temporarily revived, is rapidly passing. At the same time efforts are being made to evolve a synthesis of Annamese and French cultures in order to guard against harmful denationalization. For example, the curriculum of secondary Franco-native schools allows time for a study of French literature from the beginning of the eighteenth century by means of specially prepared textbooks, and of the Chinese language with the object of giving pupils a sufficient knowledge of the characters to enable them to understand the easier classics and to read current literature."¹⁰⁶

Unlike the French, the Dutch in the Netherlands Indies used the native tongue in the education of the Indonesians, and until 1907 limited their education to children of the upper classes. In that year the provision of schools was extended to the middle and lower classes, and a number of rural schools were slowly added.¹⁰⁷ Since then, Dutch has been taught in the liaison schools to bridge the distinction which had previously existed between native and European schools.

In the schools of British Malaya, English has always been the language of instruction, though of late an increased use of Malay in the teaching has led to misunderstanding in some quarters which charge that a "Malayization of education" is taking place. To allay this apprehension, a high colonial official has declared:

"There has never been any proposal of compelling or persuading Straits-born Chinese to waste three or four years in learning a dialect

¹⁰⁶ H. A. Wyndham, *Native Education*, Oxford University Press, London, 1933, p. 229.

¹⁰⁷ This change was mainly prompted by "the influence of the democratic current in colonial policy and its determination to attack ignorance and inertia." A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*, University of Chicago Press and Cambridge University Press, 1931, Vol. II, p. 215.

which is foreign to them, or in studying Mandarin, or in studying 'Baba' Malay. The well-known loyalty of the Straits-born Chinese and their aspirations and eagerness for everything British would make such a proceeding not only nonsensical but tyrannical. The fact that so many of them speak English in their own homes, apart from all other considerations, points obviously to English as the vehicle of their preliminary training."¹⁰⁸

In Siam, the government schools use Siamese, but in private schools the teaching of Chinese was formerly permitted. Recently, however, the Siamese government has tried to extend the use of Siamese in schools.

Nowhere in the Nan Yang is Chinese taught as a foreign language in the government schools, although the Chinese population in some areas is considerable, and although written Chinese is the language of commerce, not only between the Chinese in the Nan Yang but also, of course, between them and their correspondents in China. Foreign governments do not sufficiently realize that there is a practical need for knowing the written Chinese language on the part of an ethnic group which is playing an important part in the commerce of the Nan Yang colonies. Since their children are not given the opportunity of learning Chinese in the government schools, the Chinese business community is, in a way, compelled to give their children this training through Chinese schools.

PERSISTENT PROBLEMS

With the exception of the Swatow and Amoy dialects which are a good deal alike, the dialects spoken by the overseas Chinese—Cantonese, Hakka, Hainan—show striking differences, not only in pronunciation but also in vocabulary. Therefore, wherever the Chinese community is heterogeneous, in the sense that its inhabitants are Fukienese and Cantonese, for instance, it is likely to have one school for Fukienese and one for Cantonese children. The multiplicity of dialects spoken is the principal cause for the multiplicity of Chinese schools in the Nan Yang.

In 1933 there were in British Malaya 373 Chinese schools, 17 of them of the old type. Only one in ten of these schools—to be precise, 36—received grants in aid from the colonial government, amounting to \$44,945 (Malayan currency) or \$7.92 per pupil per

¹⁰⁸ Speech of Director of Education at meeting of the Legislative Council, Malacca, February 12th, 1934.

year. The Chinese schools had an enrolment of 18,376 boys and 6,477 girls, mainly children of immigrants. The children of the Straits-born Chinese more often went to the government schools which in 1933 had 12,223 boys and 4,718 girls of Chinese race.

In the Netherlands Indies, the Peranakans, i.e. the Chinese born there, usually send their children to the Dutch Chinese schools where Dutch is the language of instruction. The Chinese immigrants, as in British Malaya, prefer to have their children educated in Chinese schools where the medium of teaching is Mandarin. In the 107 Dutch Chinese schools there are 15,516 boys and 10,922 girls. In recent years the Chinese schools have shown a gradual increase: in 1908 there were 75 schools with 5,500 pupils; in 1915, 400 schools with 17,000 pupils; and in 1931 about 600 schools with 30,000 pupils.¹⁰⁹ In 1926, the Education Association of Overseas Chinese in the Netherlands Indies reported on the basis of a survey a total of 313 Chinese schools with 31,441 pupils.¹¹⁰ The literacy of the Chinese also has shown improvement. According to the census of 1930, the literates that year constituted 29 per cent of the total Chinese population (34 per cent in Java and 24 per cent in the outer provinces); and 3.2 per cent of them were able to read the Dutch language.

In Siam the total school attendance in 1932 was 788,846; of these 7,726 were Chinese pupils in Chinese schools.¹¹¹

With the possible exception of French Indo-China, the introduction of Mandarin in the Chinese schools of the Nan Yang shows a vigorous progress. This has made it possible in many areas to reduce the number of Chinese schools, and, through amalgamation,

¹⁰⁹ *Volkstelling, 1930, Part VII, p. 108.*

¹¹⁰ *Yearbook for Chinese Education in the Netherlands East Indies* (in Chinese), 1928, p. 448.

¹¹¹ The author has omitted to mention the Philippines in this connection. Here, from the beginning of the American rule the object was as rapidly as possible to make English the vehicular language throughout the educational system. The condition of Chinese education seems to be similar to that in the Netherlands Indies. The government does not recognise Chinese private schools, and since instruction in these is carried on in Chinese, very few of the students can pass the necessary entrance examinations to enter government institutions when they seek a higher education. As a result, many Philippine-born Chinese seek such opportunities in China, and in fact some of the Chinese schools definitely prepare their students for entrance to a higher school in China. In the Philippines also the diversity of dialects has been a problem, making for many small and inefficient schools; as elsewhere a solution of the problem is the introduction of Mandarin in place of local dialects as the vehicular language. Those Philippine-born Chinese who pass through the government school system from the lower grades up are said to have a high average record and often achieve distinction. *The Editor.*

to improve them. Although various dialects are still spoken among the Chinese in business and in their homes, the time is not far off when Mandarin will occupy the most important place in business circles.

The decrease in the number of Chinese schools made possible by the use of a common language has had several effects of importance for our study. It has decreased the financial burden on those immigrants who were determined to give their children an education but could ill afford it. It also has tended to improve the schools that were left when the least efficient were eliminated. Most important, perhaps, it has created a strong link between immigrants from different provinces and parts of provinces, thus fostering national patriotism. Misunderstandings caused by differences in language and social uses tend to lessen; toleration and co-operation are on the increase.

The process of consolidation of schools, however, has its practical limits. In rural areas, for example, the Chinese population is often spread out too much to have their children attend the same school. In the cities, schools have so long been housed in small and unsuitable buildings that consolidation would necessitate the building of new and modern premises. This replacement of the inadequate schools with modern buildings is especially difficult during a time of general economic depression.

Another persistent problem not easily overcome is the lack of teachers trained to deal with the special tasks of education in an overseas community. Since the increased use of Mandarin as the vehicular language it is easier to invite teachers from China, but these are of course unfamiliar with the needs of the Chinese in the Nan Yang and do not, as a rule, plan to stay long even when they do accept an appointment. Most of them neither learn the Malay language of the place nor have the time and interest to familiarize themselves with the geography, history and culture of the country where they have come to teach. As the number of Nan Yang-born Chinese who are well-trained in the use of Mandarin and other subjects of local importance increases, it is expected that teachers recruited from this group will gradually replace those who come from China, to the obvious advantage of education in these overseas communities.

The same difficulty that affects the available teaching personnel

also affects the available teaching material. Most of it has to be imported from China and is obviously unsuitable—especially when it comes to the teaching of such subjects as geography and the natural sciences. Although, since 1932, the two leading educational publishing houses in Shanghai have issued textbooks especially designed for use in the Chinese schools of the Nan Yang, a much more thorough adaptation of materials to the actual requirements overseas would seem to be called for. In recent years some of the governments have prohibited the importation of certain Chinese books which contain nationalist political propaganda. Many believe that these measures have been carried too far in some instances in which non-political books have also been prohibited.¹¹²

RESULTING ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

It may be said that both the success and the difficulties of Chinese education in the countries of the Nan Yang have contributed to the part which the overseas Chinese are playing in reforming the educational system in South China. The traditional pride of Chinese parents in the attainments of their children in these countries has found both nourishment and serious obstacles. Enthusiasm for education was stimulated by realization of its benefits in the special circumstances of life in the colonies. Growing prosperity, at first unaided by any particular educational attainments, made it possible to materialize educational aspirations to a much larger extent than had been possible in the economically backward home country. But almost from the start the path of progress branched in two directions—in the one lay rapid assimilation to a strange culture and an alien civilization, in the other the maintenance of the ancient social heritage as a bulwark of group and family survival.

As we have seen, the Chinese in the Nan Yang often has to choose between a schooling for his children that will give them the benefit

¹¹² Among the educational administrators in several of the Nan Yang countries there undoubtedly has arisen a rather exaggerated alarm over the increase of nationalism in the teaching of the Chinese schools. The natural result of their own, or their predecessors', earlier failure to integrate the schools of so important a minority as the Chinese usually represent with their own school system—namely the leaning of Chinese colonial education upon Chinese models—is mistaken for an effect of deliberate scheming on the part of Chinese political officers. There may be a definite desire of the National Government of China to have children of Chinese blood brought up in loyalty to Chinese ideals, but the small contributions it is able to make to that end are not the determining factor in the nationalist trend of the teaching in these schools. *The Editor.*

of government grants and mastery of many subjects useful in the modern world or, on the other hand, a schooling more likely to fit them for the kind of business and society to which they must more immediately adjust themselves. Many a parent when confronted with the necessity to choose prefers a school rooted in respect for Chinese scholarship, and trusts to luck that somehow the child will learn how to play his part successfully in the life of the country where he finds himself. The Chinese school may be an excellent means, as similar schools carried on by minority groups have been elsewhere, of slowing up the break between the generations, of keeping the children of emigrants in cultural affinity with the ideals of the land of their fathers. But however proficient it may be in teaching the Chinese language and subjects of specifically Chinese significance, it is definitely deficient in teaching many of those things which the child needs to succeed in the land of his father's adoption. The graduates of these schools, according to much evidence, often find themselves at a disadvantage, more especially when applying for government jobs or for employment in Western business, while graduates of government schools do not have these difficulties. On the other hand, since English is usually taught in the upper grades of the Chinese schools, their graduates if they come from homes with a fairly high cultural background can often proceed to Europe, America, or to foreign-managed institutions in China, as well as to purely Chinese institutions of higher learning, to continue their training.

In recent years an increasing number of overseas Chinese are turning their faces toward China, for a variety of reasons: to express their patriotism, to develop commercial relations, to plan for their children a future career in China. A middle-class wholesaler in British Malaya, a Baba with five children, one day set forth his views of Chinese education in these words:

"Formerly we used to send our children to the government schools so that after graduation they could become government clerks or commercial salesmen in some European business. But these opportunities have decreased in recent years. Therefore, some of us have come to send our children to the Chinese schools, in the hope that they may later find employment in China."

It is in this personal situation, more than any other consideration perhaps, that the source is to be found for the growing enthusiasm which the Chinese abroad are showing for the improvement of

education in their home communities. A prominent business man in Singapore remarked on this point:

"We realize that in several respects it is more difficult to maintain a good Chinese school abroad than it is to maintain one at home in China. Therefore, we are developing more schools in our home communities to which some of the parents may send their children for training if that seems the best thing to do."

EFFECTS ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH CHINA

In Chapter VII the main influences have been shown which the development of educational thought and practice among the Chinese in the Nan Yang has had on the schools in the emigrant communities in East Kwangtung and South Fukien. The main points may here be conveniently summarized in briefest form: (1) increase in school accommodation in proportion to population, (2) increase in school attendance, (3) equal emphasis on the education of boys and girls, (4) example set in making financial sacrifices for the education of children, (5) increased awareness of the function of education in the life of individuals, (6) increased grasp of the potential contributions of education to solve community problems, (7) extended use of Mandarin as one of the means toward the consolidation of the Chinese people.

This series of influences goes, of course, far beyond the confines of those particular rural communities from which most of the emigrants have come, or with which old-established Chinese in the Nan Yang have maintained relations through several generations. They have been even greater, perhaps, in their impact upon those towns and port cities in South China with which the overseas families have long had their major business connections. When they return to China, some of the emigrants do not stay in their home villages but reside in these towns and cities. Since they are close to the regions under survey in the present study, two cities may be singled out here for a brief summary of their reflection of this educational influence from overseas.

Education in Amoy. Among the thirty-nine registered primary schools, seventeen, or 44 per cent, have overseas connections. The thirty-nine schools have together 8,450 pupils of whom no less than 1,752, or more than one-fifth, are children of emigrant families.

Of the seventeen schools, eleven receive financial aid from abroad every year, aggregating \$18,146 in a typical year. These eleven

schools have a combined budget of \$54,782; and one-third of this comes from overseas. (The total budget of the thirty-nine schools comes to \$151,833, and of this about 11 per cent comes from abroad.) These schools have their own buildings, constructed at the expense of overseas Chinese who, in addition, have also contributed money for new school buildings to the amount of \$48,400. For instance, one school which originally was under foreign mission auspices has recently come under Chinese management. In 1934 it looked back upon a history of 48 years. In 1926, it received a building grant of \$12,000 from abroad. Its annual running expense is \$1,930 of which \$410, or about one-fifth, comes from overseas. The school has seven male and six female teachers and 286 students.

Of the eleven registered middle schools, five have direct overseas connections (chiefly financial). One of these schools was established in 1905 and now has an annual budget of \$21,890. Of this total, \$15,800, or two-thirds, comes from one merchant who lives abroad. The eleven schools have 2,405 students, of whom 853, more than one-third, come from overseas families. The eleven middle schools have a total budget of \$203,170, of which \$16,800, or one-twelfth, comes from overseas.

Amoy University was established in 1920 at the initiative of Mr. Tan Ka-kee, until recently a millionaire of Singapore. Up to the period of the world depression, that is in less than a decade, this one man contributed over four million dollars to the buildings and upkeep of this institution. His business then went bankrupt, but until very recently he still sent the university an annual contribution of \$72,200 toward its budget of \$333,130. The university had in 1934-35 a faculty of 55 members and a student body of 609. Of the students, 43, or 7 per cent, came from emigrant families.

Education in Swatow. Of the twenty-nine registered primary schools, four have direct overseas connections, two have received regular contributions from abroad every year, and two others have received such contributions occasionally. The twenty-nine schools have a total budget of \$215,948; of this amount only \$420 comes regularly from abroad in support of two of the schools, but in 1934 two other schools received overseas contributions totalling \$25,000.

The twenty-nine schools have between them 8,562 pupils, 872 of them, or 10 per cent, being from overseas families. The largest school, with 42 teachers and 1,212 pupils, has from the beginning

had intimate connections with overseas Chinese, but it has been more difficult here than in Amoy to ascertain the amount of financial contributions received from abroad, for even in this school the only financial aid from overseas reported was a sum of \$20,000 for buildings. No special record was kept of other overseas donations.

Of ten registered middle schools in Swatow, four have definite connections with overseas Chinese. The budget of a certain normal school is \$24,000, of which \$20,900 comes from overseas. Another middle school has a budget of \$8,000, of which \$3,200 is contributed from abroad. The total budget of the ten institutions is \$205,341, of which \$26,300, or just over one-eighth, comes from Chinese benefactors in the Nan Yang. In addition, overseas Chinese have also occasionally contributed money to three other middle schools, but the amounts of their gifts could not be ascertained. In 1934 these contributions amounted to \$25,200. In that year the ten middle schools in Swatow had an enrolment of 2,440 students, of whom 559, or 23 per cent, were children of emigrant families.

APPENDIX C

WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND CURRENCIES

The following are approximate equivalents of Chinese units used in the book. It should be noted that appreciable local variations often exist between different regions of the country.

1 *li* = .31 miles or .5 km.

1 Chinese "market foot" (*shih chih*) = 1.09 ft. or .33 m.

1 *picul* = 133 lbs. or 60 kg.

1 *mow* = .164 acres = .066 hectares

Unless otherwise noted the word dollar and the sign \$ refer to the Chinese *yuan* or standard dollar. Its average value in United States cents was as follows:

1933	26 cts.	1935	36 cts.
1934	34 cts.	1936	30 cts.

INDEX

- Amoy 5, 30, 46
 - development of 202-208
 - public utilities 206-208
- Anthropological measurements and observations 24
- Betel-nut chewing 97
- Canton 46
- China's exports to the Nan Yang 64
- Climate 18
- Clothing 99-106
- Communications 17, 211-226
 - investments of overseas Chinese 214-224
 - railways 214-217
 - road transportation 217-224
- Concubinage 121, 129, 139, 140
- Culture traits 28-41
- Currency 283
- Diseases 175-176
- Dual-family system 139-143
- Education 8, 47, 48, 149-172, 272-282
 - adult learning 168-172
 - aims old and new 150-161
 - doubts as to benefit 156
 - dramatic entertainment 169, 170
 - effect on nationalism 160
 - enthusiasm for 152, 153, 154
 - home culture 170-172
 - influence of 146, 152, 153, 154, 280-282
 - influence of returned emigrants 150
 - schools in emigrant communities 161-166
 - schools in non-emigrant communities 166-168
 - schools overseas 272-278
 - teaching qualification 167
- Emigrant communities 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 29-31, 59, 68, 89, 99, 106, 161, 197
 - clothing 99-103
 - food consumption 89-93
 - occupations 68-73
 - public safety 197-201
 - schools 161
 - shelter 106-114
- Emigrants
 - as agriculturists 63, 68
 - as labourers 52, 70, 71
 - as "middlemen" 63, 64
 - assimilation 56
 - business as career 60, 61, 64, 69, 70
 - citizenship 2
 - considered as rebels 50
 - debarred certain positions 64
 - desire to improve status 60, 61
 - diet 89-94
 - geographical distribution 86, 263-271
 - Government representation 56
 - historical home 16
 - investment 109, 110, 214-224
 - maintenance of schools 48
 - marriage abroad 138, 142, 143, 146, 147
 - number of 2
 - patriotism 56
 - religion 227-257
 - remittances 3, 73-85
 - return to China prohibited 50
 - shelter 106-114
 - ties with Mother country 55

Emigration

- causes of 32, 33, 49, 60, 259-261
- law of China as regulating 53, 56
- mode of travel 261-263
- more liberal policy 54

Exports and Imports 64**Foochow. 46****Family, the 118-148**

- adoption of children 132
- authority 127-129
- division of property 132-134
- economic inter-dependance 124
- functions 123-127
- life 6, 118-148
- marriage 134-136
- position of children 130-132
- position of women 129-130
- structure 118-123

Gambling 188-190**Geographical influences 17****Habits, *see* "Health and habits"****Handcrafts 34****Health and habits 173-194**

- common diseases 175, 176
- epidemics 176, 177
- faith in gods 181
- gambling 188-190
- influence of Western medicine 182
- medical care 182, 183, 184
- opium smoking 187-188, 190
- physical culture 192-194
- prostitution 190-192
- sanitation 185
- sports 193-194

Imports and Exports 64**Industry and Commerce 209-211**
(also *see* "Occupations")**"Letter Offices" 8, 78, 79, 80, 81****Livelihood 58-85****Marriage 134-136**

- abroad 138, 142, 143, 146, 147
- dual marriage system 139-143
- effect of education 146
- expenses 136
- reform 144, 145

Measures 283**Method of survey 7****Middlemen 63, 64****Non-emigrant communities 8, 9, 10,**

- 55, 59, 65, 66, 86, 94, 105, 114
- clothing 105-106
- diet 94-99
- division into classes 9
- family income and expenditure 86-99
- livelihood 65-68
- occupations 59, 65, 66
- reason for non-migration 66
- rice farming 55
- shelter 114-117

Occupations 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 30,
31, 58-85

- agriculture 33, 34, 63
- as labourers 60
- commerce 60, 64
- embroidery 31
- drawn work 36
- joss paper 37
- mining 20, 21
- navigation and fishing 29, 38, 39, 40
- pottery 37
- rice farming 32
- spinning and weaving 31, 34, 35

Opium 187-188, 190**Peranakans 56, 60, 103****Population features 25, 26****Public safety 197-201****Racial origins 21, 22****Railways 46, 214-217**

Religion 227-257

belief and practices 39-41, 228-231

rites and festivals 232-233

observances 233-251

conflicts of old beliefs and new
251-255**Remittances, 3, 73-85****Schools *see* "Education"****Shelter 106-117****Shipbuilding 46****Social change 42-57**

contact with the West 42, 44, 45

tendencies of 45

Social organization and enterprise

195-226

civic enterprise 201-202

communications 211-224

development of Amoy 202-208

development of Swatow 208-209

industry and commerce 209-211

influence of returned immigrants
201-202

public safety 197-201

volunteer guard 199

Spirit worship 123, 124**Sports 193, 194****Standards of living 86-117****Swatow 5, 6, 46**

development of 208-209

Treaties 52**Weights, measures, etc. 283**

